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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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12 August 1982

CHINA REPORT
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REAGAN ADMINISTRATION INTERNAL DISPUTES REVIEWED

Beijing ZHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 7, 1982 pp 5-6

[Article by Zhuang Qubing [8369 0637 4016]: "Internal Disputes in Reagan's Administration as Viewed in Its Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] There have been incessant disputes over domestic and foreign policies since the beginning of the highly conservative Reagan administration more than a year ago. Recently, the journals of the United States and other countries carried many reports on the conflict between Secretary of State Haig and Secretary of Defense Weinberger. As many people know, disputes over foreign affairs in the U.S. Government started some time ago, and in every one of them, Secretary of State Haig has played a leading role. According to reports, those who do not get along with him or have had disagreements with him, include not only the "troika" in the White House (namely the president's counselors Meese, White House Chief of Staff Baker and Deputy Chief of Staff Deaver), but also Presidential Assistant for National Security Allen, Defense Secretary Weinberger and other important persons.

Allen's Exit

According to U.S. press reports, way back on 20 January of last year, when President Reagan formally assumed office, Haig handed over to him a memorandum requesting that he be given full power over foreign policies including policies of economic relations with foreign countries, and that the power of a presidential assistant for national security be limited. His request was not officially approved by Reagan. Nevertheless, Haig considered himself the "vicar of foreign affairs." At the end of March, Reagan appointed Vice President Bush as a crisis manager, to be in charge of the White House Situation Room in addition to the job of handling international crises. This action made Haig "furious," and he even openly voiced his opposition in the Congress. It was reported that he wanted to resign his office as Secretary of State. Reagan had a talk with him on the following day, and announced that Haig was still his "chief counselor in foreign affairs" and the "chief planner and spokesman for foreign policy." Thus the storm subsided for the time being, but the cracks had already been revealed. The personnel of U.S. Department of State believed that the use of Bush to keep Haig in line was engineered by the president's counselor Meese and Presidential Assistant for National Security Allen. On 30 March, when people were full of anxiety after the attempt on Reagan's life, Haig declared: "From now on, I am in

control of the White House." [sic] Weinberger felt that he overdid it and had some conflict with him. There was then another storm.

However, what captured people's attention last year was the feud between Haig and Allen. The bad relations between them date back to the time of Nixon's administration when Allen, then working for the National Security Committee, resigned after some dispute with Kissinger, Haig's former superior. When Reagan entered the White House, Allen was still an assistant for national security, but his power was far less than that of his predecessors Bundy, Kissinger and Brzezinski. His reports to Reagan even had to go through the "troika" in the White House. Allen naturally felt uneasy about this.

Furthermore, Allen frequently made statements which were at variance with the views of the Secretary of State. He even said ironically: "All those who have had open-heart surgery (Haig had such a surgery) have an irrepressible desire to dominate others." All these made Haig unhappy. Thus early last November, he instructed Fischer, spokesman for the Department of State, to announce at a press conference that it was Haig's opinion that for more than 9 months, a high ranking assistant had waged a "guerrilla campaign" against him with a view to discrediting him, and that this jeopardized his "capability in implementing foreign policies." Reagan quickly summoned Haig and Allen and urged them to control themselves and their subordinates and to refrain from further personal disputes. Later, there was a government investigation of Allen for having received a gratuity of \$1,000. Although he was found not guilty after the investigation, Reagan did not reinstate him. Therefore, Allen was compelled to quit on 4 January of this year. On the same day, Reagan appointed Undersecretary of State Clark to be his successor.

This was the first important personnel change since Reagan assumed office. Clark had formerly held the post of supreme court judge in California, and was Reagan's close friend. Although without diplomatic experience, it has been reported that he got along with Haig very well when he served as undersecretary of State. The main purpose of appointing Clark as assistant for national security was to harmonize the relationship between Haig and the "troika" in the White House. In his new post, Clark could approach the president directly. His position was higher than had been Allen's. Thus Meese's diplomatic power was curtailed and Haig's was correspondingly increased. Reagan even consented to the promotion of Haig's confidants in the Department of State, Stoessel and Eagleburger, to the positions of undersecretary and undersecretary for political affairs respectively. Furthermore, Clark even invited Haig's counselor McFarlane to serve as his own assistant. Public opinion in the United States was that these personnel changes could be called a triumph for Haig's group.

Haig Versus Weinberger

According to press reports, the contradiction between Defense Secretary Weinberger and Haig gradually became acute after the departure of Allen. Weinberger had been Budget Director in Nixon's administration, and later Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. He was one of the chieftains of the "Californian clique," and when Reagan was the governor, he was known as an expert in financial affairs. Because of his drastic welfare cutbacks, he was called a "sharp knife." If we say that the past disputes had the

characteristics of a power struggle to a certain extent, then the difference of opinion between Haig and Weinberger this time is to an even larger extent a difference over policy. Therefore, people believe that the difference between Weinberger and Haig is the crux of a "real dissension" inside Reagan's administration, since the policies advocated by these two persons are different in many ways. According to press reports and analyses, the policies are different in the following respects:

On the policy toward the Western European allies, Haig thinks that in consideration of Western Europe's policy toward the Soviet Union, they must agree to conduct talks with the Soviet Union on the questions of nuclear weapons in the European war zone and strategic nuclear weapons; otherwise, it not only would be difficult to unite Western Europe against the Soviet Union, but also it would hasten the growth of a neutral force in Western Europe which might even abort the plan to deploy long- and medium-range guided missiles in Europe. He further believes that if Western Europe insists on laying a gas pipeline between Europe and the Soviet Union, the United States may reluctantly agree, but the important point is that the United States should demand that Western Europe restricts its loans to the Soviet Union. Weinberger is not enthusiastic about the talks on nuclear weapons and is in favor of applying pressure on Western Europe, especially West Germany, and compelling it to drop the plan for laying the gas pipeline. He held that once the pipeline is completed, Western Europe will rely on Moscow for the supply of energy, while the Soviet Union will earn \$10 billion in hard currency with which it can purchase Western technology related to military affairs.

On the Polish question, Haig favors the idea that the U.S. Government should ask some U.S. banks to help Poland pay its interests on the \$71 million loan so that Poland would not announce its inability to redeem its debts. The reason is that should Poland make such an announcement and fail to repay its debts to the West, the Soviet Union will be "relieved of a burden" while the Western European countries would have to suffer and business between the East and the West would be suspended. In this event, the outlook may turn out to be disadvantageous to the United States. Weinberger on the other hand favored a hard line on Poland by forcing Poland to announce its inability to repay. This, in his opinion, would increase the economic burden of the Soviet Union and undermine the gas pipeline transaction between Western Europe and the Soviet Union.

As for the Middle East policy, both Haig and Weinberger hope for improved relations with the Arab countries. However, Haig considers Israel as the most reliable supporter in the Middle East in opposing the Soviet Union. He opposes any change in the policy toward Israel, and feels obligated to maintain Israel's "superiority in technical quality." Weinberger insists on some change in the policy toward Israel in order to strengthen the military relations with the Arab countries, and, therefore, would not permit the consideration of Israeli interest to interfere with the U.S. Middle East policy.

As to the question of the Caribbean region, Haig is inclined toward forceful action, not even short of the use of force, against Cuba and Nicaragua, and has declared that "all necessary action" should be taken to prevent the leftist guerrilla forces in El Salvador from overthrowing the government.

Weinberger opposes any military involvement in Central America and even disagrees with the idea of blockading Cuba and Nicaragua. He is also worried that this might arouse public opposition which might affect the military budget passed by Congress, and foil the plans of the Pentagon for a global struggle with the Soviet Union for hegemony.

The military policy advocated by Weinberger is also different from that of Haig. Haig feels that Europe, especially the central war zone of Europe, is essential to U.S. security, and that priority must be given to the defense of Europe. Weinberger holds that in the 1970's the United States attached too much importance to Europe and neglected some other regions, especially the Persian Gulf. He stressed the need for the United States to be able to fight simultaneously in several war zones and to "restore and maintain" its "superiority at sea" against the Soviet Union. He also felt that the Europeans should have a greater share in the defense of Europe.

President Reagan usually listened to them both. As for the policies toward the Soviet Union, Western Europe and Poland, he was more receptive to Haig's ideas. However, his decision to manufacture neutron bombs and the "zero plan" proposed at the talks over nuclear weapons were mainly based on Weinberger's recommendations. On the whole, Haig has so far gained the upper hand.

Causes of the Acrimonious Disputes

Why has the contradiction inside the Reagan administration become so acute? First, the important decision makers represent different interest groups. The Reagan administration has been the strongest government of the conservative forces since World War II. Essentially, the government is jointly run by the eastern and southern financial groups with certain consideration for other forces. The situation is very complex, but there are mainly two groups. One of them is represented by Haig, Regan (Treasury Secretary), Casey (CIA director) and others. This is a group of moderate conservatives, basically reflecting the interests of the main financial group in the east, where there is the largest number of transnational companies with interests all over the world. They are closely related with Western Europe in particular. The other group is represented by Meese, Deaver, Weinberger and Allen, and its members are mostly ultraconservatives. They mostly reflect the requirements of the financial groups in the south, although some of them are connected with the financial groups of the east. The economic interests of the financial groups in the west and south are mainly domestic, with the enterprises related to military affairs occupying an important position.

It must be pointed out that both groups have identical views on such issues as U.S. global strategy in the struggle for hegemony with the Soviet Union as the main task, and the stepping up of armaments to back up diplomacy. However, there have usually been differences on the concrete policies to be carried out in accomplishing this strategy. It is generally agreed that Haig and his group "adopt the pragmatic rather than ideological approach" and have attached greater importance to the alleviation of internal contradictions among the "allies." They also give more thoughts to "strategic relations" with the countries concerned. Meese, Weinberger and Allen give

greater prominence to the United States and consider that "excessive accommodation" for allies and other countries is unnecessary. On the policy toward the Soviet Union, their stance is stronger than that of Haig's group, and they even favor the idea of undermining the Eastern European bloc economically.

Secondly, the differences over policies are interwoven with the power struggle. Haig is ambitious, but Weinberger, Allen and their group also want to have a great say in policy decisions. According to Western press reports, Haig's opposition to Bush's job as crisis manager may be connected with their future competition for the presidency. White House Chief of Staff Baker is a confidant of Bush and is said to be "one of those who hate Haig's guts." Haig has also had disputes with Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director Rostow on the question of which agency should be responsible for disarmament talks. In fact, a power struggle inside Washington had already developed between the moderate conservative and the ultraconservative groups even before President Reagan assumed office.

Thirdly, the sharpening of contradiction has also something to do with President Reagan's ability to exercise effective control. He lacks diplomatic experience and is in urgent need of capable assistants. He restricted Allen's power because, it seemed, he wanted to avoid a repetition of the incidents in the Nixon and Carter administrations, when the power of assistants for national security was above that of the Secretary of State, with frequent bickering as the result. At the same time, however, he gave the "troika" in the White House, whom Haig considered to be "very inefficient and incompetent," great power in making statements on foreign affairs. According to some U.S. officials who know the inside story, Reagan actually "does not want any person under him to be more conspicuous than the others, and if there is such a person, he [the president] will clamp down on him." He seems to be doing the same thing to Haig. Recent U.S. press reports revealed that despite the appointment of Clark as the assistant for national security which may have the effect of creating harmony between the Department of State and the other agencies including the White House, there has been the directive that the responsibility for studying long-range foreign policies be transferred from the Department of State to the National Security Council. This is in effect meant to weaken the Department of State. Haig is reported to have "offered resistance" which makes Reagan uncomfortable.

During Carters Democratic administration, the feud between Brzezinski and Vance was a contradiction between the moderates and the liberals. Now, in Reagan's Republican administration, the main contradiction is between the moderate conservatives and the ultraconservatives, and the feud this time, either overt or covert, is even more intensive. This type of feud is deeply rooted and will hereafter continue. Recently, the ultraconservatives not in office have again charged that there are too many "moderate careerists around Reagan" and that Reagan's "faithful followers are in predicament." According to BUSINESS WEEK, the Middle East became the focal point during the 1st year of Reagan's administration. Because of neutralism and anti-U.S. sentiments in Europe and the Poland incident, the focal point "has been shifted to NATO." However, there is a deep difference between them on the way to unite Western Europe against the Soviet Union. People believe that in view of the

intensification of internal difficulties in the United States, the contradictions inside the government in Washington may become more acute and even lead to another personnel reshuffle. This possibility cannot be precluded.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

Burmese Foreign Minister's Visits

OW080908 Beijing XINHUA in English 0344 GMT 8 Jul 82

[Text] Rangoon, 7 Jul (XINHUA)--Burmese Foreign Minister U Chit Hlaing left here today to pay a goodwill visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China at the invitation of the governments of the two countries.

U Chit Hlaing and his party were seen off at the Rangoon Airport by Burmese Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha and other ministers.

Present at the airport were also Korean Ambassador to Burma Yi Song-hui and the charge de'affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy Chen Mo.

Thai Official Criticizes SRV Trick

OW090838 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 9 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 9 Jul (XINHUA)--Prasong Sunsiri, secretary general of the National Security Council (NSC) of Thailand, yesterday described as "a clear attempt on Vietnam's part to divert world attention from the real issue," the latest Vietnamese three-point proposal announced on 7 July in Ho Chi Minh City, the Thai press reports today.

He urged the people of the world not to be deceived by the propaganda of the so-called foreign ministers meeting of the "three Indochinese countries."

On the offer to withdraw a "significant" number of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea by Hanoi this month, the NSC secretary general asked, "How many? When? And where to?"

He quoted intelligence reports as saying that in late May Vietnam sent about 20,000 troops from the third and fourth divisions from north Vietnam to Kampuchea.

"Total withdrawal" was what the UN resolutions had demanded of Vietnam and nothing short of a specific time-frame for total withdrawal would be acceptable to Thailand, he said.

On the proposed "safety zone" offer, Prasong said, "this is a revival of the demilitarised zone idea of 2 years ago." "It had already been rejected by Thailand and other ASEAN countries."

Prasong said that the international conference proposed by Vietnam was aimed at "trying to attract attention to other matters, away from the Kampuchean conflict."

Thai Spokesman Scores SRV Proposal

OW091756 Beijing XINHUA in English 1600 GMT 9 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 9 Jul (XINHUA)--Thailand today said the joint communique issued after a tripartite conference of Vietnam, Laos and the Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea was aimed at legitimizing Vietnam's aggression and embroiling Thailand in the Kampuchean conflict.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Chet Sutcharitkun said Hanoi's suggestion to set up a safety and demilitarized zone on Thai-Kampuchean border was aimed at "legitimizing Vietnam's aggression and its continued military occupation of Kampuchea." He said this was nothing new compared with Vietnam's earlier proposals, which Thailand and ASEAN had repeatedly turned down.

The spokesman said Vietnam cannot refer to its announced partial withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea as a "goodwill gesture toward Thailand." He said "Thailand feels the instability on the border stems from Vietnam's aggression and continued military occupation of Kampuchea."

Referring to the proposal of holding a regional international conference of the Indochinese and the ASEAN countries, the spokesman said, any international conference on Kampuchea should be held under the auspices of the United Nations. "The crux of the problem in Kampuchea as seen by Thailand and ASEAN is Vietnam's continued aggression and occupation of Kampuchea," he said.

The spokesman also pointed out that the communique failed to mention "the inalienable right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people." Then, "the question is, does Vietnam really want to see a Kampuchea that is independent, nonaligned and neutral," the spokesman asked.

Khieu Samphan Raps SRV Trick

OW090914 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 9 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 9 Jul (XINHUA)--The partial troop withdrawal from Kampuchea claimed by the Hanoi authorities is completely a shameless Vietnamese lie and habitual trick, said Khieu Samphan yesterday, according to a Radio Democratic Kampuchea report today.

Khieu Samphan said in a press statement: "We will never be easily taken in. The National Army and guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea will continue

their heroic and determined fight till the Vietnamese aggressors are totally defeated and driven out of our beloved motherland, Kampuchea, completely."

Khieu Samphan said: "It is our consistent stand to demand an unconditional and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea in accordance with the related resolutions of the 34th, 35th and 36th UN General Assembly sessions, and to let the Kampuchean people resolve their own problems through a free referendum under UN supervision."

The radio in a commentary today calls on the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples in the world to foil Vietnam's "partial troop withdrawal" scheme and continue to exert pressure on Vietnam, forcing it to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea unconditionally in accordance with the UN resolutions.

The Vietnamese scheme, the commentary says, is aimed at opposing the UN resolutions concerned and the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea so as to extricate Hanoi from a predicament.

It says in conclusion the key to the solution of the Kampuchea question lies in an unconditional and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

Negotiations With SRV Futile

OW121702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1606 GMT 12 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 12 Jul (XINHUA)--Any negotiations with Vietnam will be futile and will be a waste of time, said the Thai newspaper DAILY MIRROR in an editorial today.

The editorial pointed out that Vietnam proclaimed to withdraw part of its troops from Kampuchea under the precondition that Thailand should establish a non-military zone along the Thai-Kampuchean border and withdraw its support to Democratic Kampuchea. This is an attempt to make Thailand involved in the affairs of Kampuchea. It is not Thailand but Vietnam which has invaded Kampuchea, the editorial stressed.

It pointed out that the Vietnamese proclamation of partial withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea is "unbelievable." Thailand should tell Vietnam that the only thing for Vietnam to do is to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea in line with the UN General Assembly resolutions. Apart from this, any other negotiations won't do.

Thai Official on CGDK

OW130902 Beijing XINHUA in English 0743 GMT 13 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 13 Jul (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon yesterday praised the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, calling it "another step forward," reported the Thai press today.

He said that the Thai Government's policy on Kampuchea had been constructive and correct. "I am confident we are doing the right thing. And what we are doing is beneficial to the country," the prime minister said.

He added that the Thai Government had assisted the Kampuchean resistance factions to form their coalition government. "But we will not interfere in their internal affairs."

Asked whether Prince Sihanouk had requested aid during his visit here, Prime Minister Prem said he expected the request to come later. "Requesting aid is their business, giving aid is ours, and it will be our own decision," he added.

He expressed the hope that the three factions in Kampuchean coalition would manage to hold firm together and accomplish what they have set out to do.

Thai Army Official on Vietnamese Threat

OW130900 Beijing XINHUA in English 0727 GMT 13 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 12 Jul (XINHUA)--Arthit Kamlang-ek, assistant commander of the Royal Thai Army, said yesterday that though Thailand did not care much about Vietnam's threats, it had to heighten its vigilance and take effective measures to ensure its national defence and security, according to press reports here.

Another report said that in their efforts to upset the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea shelled on 10 July the camp of the Democratic Kampuchean Army to the south of Aranyaprathet of Thailand's Prachinburi Province, about 20 kilometers away from the place where Samdech inspected on 8 July.

Malaysian Official on CGDK

OW130844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 13 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 13 Jul (XINHUA)--Malaysian Foreign Minister Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, in a statement issued in Kuala Lumpur yesterday, congratulated the three leaders of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea for the formation of their coalition government on 11 July, according to a report from Kuala Lumpur.

He reiterated Malaysia's support to the coalition government as it reflected the will and efforts of the Kampuchean people to liberate Kampuchea from Vietnamese occupation.

The Malaysian foreign minister stressed that the establishment of the coalition government was a significant milestone in the endeavours for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean question which would restore the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea and the honour of the Kampuchean people in accordance with the international law and the United Nations charter.

"The tasks and responsibilities of the three leaders of the coalition government have indeed been heavy and would continue to be so," he added.

He called on all governments in the world to give their support and cooperation to the coalition government. He said he believed that this would considerably enhance the efforts of the coalition government towards achieving its objectives and thereby promote regional peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Philippines Welcomes Kampuchean Coalition

OW141416 Beijing XINHUA in English 1307 GMT 14 Jul 82

[Text] Manila, 14 Jul (XINHUA)--Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos P. Romulo in a statement today declared that the Philippine Government welcomes the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, according to a press release of the Philippine Foreign Ministry.

The statement said: "The coalition of all Kampuchean nationalists under the leadership of His Highness Norodom Sihanouk brings closer the day when Kampuchea will be free from foreign military occupation and liberty restored to its people to exercise freely their right of self-determination.

"The Philippine Government, together with the ASEAN member countries, continues to seek a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea and will support the new government of Democratic Kampuchea as a step in this direction."

Thai Armed Forces Rebut Vietnamese Accusation

OW151348 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 15 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 15 Jul (XINHUA)--The supreme command of the Thai Armed Forces yesterday refuted the Vietnamese slander that Thailand had helped repatriate a "rebel group" into Vietnam and tried to overthrow the governments of the Indochinese countries as pure fabrication and an out and out political trick.

It was reported, at a press conference held in Hanoi on 13 July, the Vietnamese authorities announced that they captured a "rebel group" which was trained by the United States and repatriated by Thailand. They accused Thailand of intervening in the internal affairs of Vietnam.

Commenting on the accusation, Som Kataphan, spokesman of the supreme command of the Thai Armed Forces, told the NATION REVIEW yesterday that the accusation was part of the ploy to justify Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea. He pointed out that this propaganda effort was apparently aimed at creating an alibi for Vietnam to refuse to pull out its occupation forces from Kampuchea.

Commenting on Vietnam's partial withdrawal proposal, he said, "We don't believe Vietnam is sincere in its withdrawal proposal in the first place. Vietnam wants to maintain its influence over Kampuchea with its occupation forces."

A statement of the Information Office of the supreme command of the Thai Armed Forces said, the uprising of peoples in Vietnam and countries under Vietnamese occupation were triggered off by the policy of aggression.

It pointed out, "The Vietnamese authorities had not achieved any results in their vain efforts to establish the "Indochinese Federation," but, on the contrary, had aroused widespread opposition and discontent among the people of the countries under their control."

'Partial Withdrawal' Called Trick

OW191250 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 17 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 19 Jul (XINHUA)--The Vietnamese authorities, playing a trick of "partial withdrawal," have begun to pull back those who dislodge the war of aggression against Kampuchea for "rectification" and at the same time reinforced the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea, newspapers here reported today quoting captured Vietnamese deserter, the 32-year-old Nguyen Balin.

From 20 June to 10 July, the Vietnamese authorities had sent about 4,000 more aggressor troops to Siem Reap Province in the west of Kampuchea.

Since the beginning of this year, over 300 Vietnamese deserters have been captured in Thailand. Most of them are from south Vietnam.

Thai Paper Refutes SRV Lies

OW191308 Beijing XINHUA in English 1202 GMT 19 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 19 Jul (XINHUA)--Since the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Vietnam has tried hard to cover up its aggression against that country by calling Thailand an important organizer of the coalition, said DAILY MIRROR in an editorial today.

However, the editorial said, Vietnam can in no way convince the world that its aggression against Kampuchea is out of good will, not for dominating the country and turning it into a colony.

The paper said that since Vietnam failed to make Thailand join in its intervention in Kampuchean affairs, it has been spreading the lie that "Thailand is collaborating with China and the United States in an attempt to overthrow the Indochinese governments." By so doing, Vietnam is trying to persuade the world people that "the 200,000 Vietnamese troops stationed in Kampuchea are to prevent Thailand from sabotaging Vietnam."

Therefore, the editorial said, it is necessary for Thailand to refute and expose Vietnam timely, so that the people of the world will not be taken in.

Another Thailand paper TONGFUA DAILY NEWS said today in a short commentary that Vietnam has declared that it has withdrawn "many units" from Kampuchea, but at the same time it said that the Vietnamese troops would continue to stay in Kampuchea so long as there is the "threat of Sino-U.S. collaboration."

The commentary said, "This is an uninvited confession that its partial troop withdrawal is only a fraud. Vietnam can dispatch more troops to reinforce its occupation of Kampuchea on any alleged 'threat'."

Thais Upset by Vietnamese Threat

OW211957 Beijing XINHUA in English 1657 GMT 21 Jul 82

[Text] Bangkok, 21 Jul (XINHUA)--Thai military and political leaders have expressed strong indignation at the intimidating remarks made by Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach in the past 2 days in Singapore.

Press reports here said Nguyen Co Thach has declared in Singapore that if Thailand and other ASEAN countries continue their "hostile policy toward the Indochinese states," Vietnam would "retaliate" and even establish guerrilla forces in Thailand.

General Athit Kamlangk, assistant commander-in-chief of the Royal Thai Army, told reporters yesterday that "we will take no notice of Vietnam's threat. If it establishes guerrilla forces in Thailand, we will suppress them." General Athit added: "We have done nothing harmful to others. We are not afraid of anybody, and we have the power to defend our country."

Social Action Party leader Kukrit Pramot told reporters at his party headquarters yesterday that Nguyen Co Thach's remarks are empty threats with no practical significance. All countries would resent setting up of guerrilla forces on their land, he added.

Chairman of the National Democratic Party Kriangsak Chamanan said this morning that Thach's reported statements were a threat against Thailand and its ASEAN partners. "Thach seems to have adopted a hostile attitude toward Thailand," he noted.

The NATION REVIEW says in an editorial today that the ASEAN countries "will not buckle under threats because they are internally strong and place great respect on sovereignty." "If he wants to be listened to with any respect, Thach must climb off his high horse and talk about Vietnam and how it can contribute to a political solution of the Kampuchean problem," the editorial says. "No amount of his perverted logic can alter the fact that it was his country that invaded Kampuchea and that the battle-hardened, world's fourth largest standing army has been unable to occupy all of Kampuchea."

The BANGKOK POST says in an editorial today that "we are disappointed--as well as angered--by Mr Thach's deliberate distortions and threats, for we note that Mr Thach wants to support the overthrow of Thailand, if Thailand continues to oppose Vietnamese policy in Kampuchea." "This is blackmail. If Thailand does not do what Vietnam wants, then Hanoi would try to achieve its aims through the use of force and subversion," it says.

CSO: 4000/166

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DEVELOPMENTS IN BURMA'S ECONOMY REPORTED

BK181401 Beijing in Burmese to Burma 1130 GMT 18 Jul 82

[RENMIN RIBAO 7 July 1982 article on economic development in Burma]

[Text] According to an announcement by the Burmese People's Assembly, during the Third 4-Year Economic Plan, Burma recorded a 6.6 percent annual growth in the national economy. In the same period, the agriculture sector developed yearly be 8.6 percent, the forestry sector achieved better results while the industries, economic enterprises and production sites also improved by varying degrees. The article says that this achievement was unprecedented for Burma in the past 20 years.

Reviewing the two key factors for Burma's remarkable success, the article states the following: Firstly, development in the agriculture sector contributed to success. Since the 1970's the Burmese Government has changed its policy and instead of giving the industrial sector priority over agriculture as in the past, it concentrated on all resources to give the agriculture sector first priority. For example, more investments were made in the agriculture sector, prices of farm produce were raised and adaptation of scientific cultivation methods was encouraged. The most noticeable point is that the Burmese Government carefully carried out the work to boost paddy or rice cultivation and production--the main crop of the country. Peasants tried to improve cultivation methods; cultivation of pure high-yield strains was extended; pesticides and fertilizers were used appropriately. Thus, paddy production in Burma increased markedly.

The second factor contributing to success was the practicing of an economic policy to expand contacts with foreign countries while relying on oneself to do the work. In recent years, Burma has accepted more foreign grants and loans and has carefully imported modern and developed technology. These steps contributed to the economic development in Burma.

CSO: 1800/951

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING ON BURMA'S SHWEDAUNG TEXTILE MILL

BK140058 Beijing in Burmese to Burma 1130 GMT 13 Jul 82

[Unattributed "newsletter": "Kindred Friendship in the Shwedaung Yarn and Textile Mill"]

[Text] The Shwedaung yarn and textile mill, located about 10 miles south of Prome and jointly constructed by China and Burma, is another monument attesting to the friendship between China and Burma. The construction of the mill, undertaken under the Sino-Burmese economic and technical cooperation agreement, began in January 1980.

The mill, which occupies about 15 acres, has 600 weaving looms and 40,000 spindles. It will annually produce more than 6.3 million yards of textiles. At present, 10 buildings have been constructed. More than 60 Chinese technicians are taking part in the construction project. They are well taken care of by their Burmese friends who see to it that they are comfortable in every way, including lodging and food.

The Chinese technicians are friendly with the Burmese workers. They learn from each other and work in close cooperation. The construction project has thus proceeded smoothly.

When Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang visited Burma in January last year, he also visited the site of the Shwedaung textile mill. He saw the Chinese technicians and Burmese workers working hand in hand. Since all of them were wearing the same uniforms and working in harmony it was difficult to distinguish between the Chinese and Burmese workers. The Chinese premier also observed the Chinese technicians teaching the Burmese workers to handle the new machines in the main mill unit, the boiler room and the workshop.

During the tour, Burmese Prime Minister U Maung Maung Kha told Premier Zhao Ziyang that the Chinese technicians were very skillful and were effective in rendering assistance. Premier Zhao Ziyang said they were doing what should be done and that it was for the sake of Sino-Burmese friendship.

In his meeting with Chinese technicians, Premier Zhao Ziyang advised them to work together energetically and better than their very best, thereby enhancing the friendship between China and Burma.

The Shwedaung mill is located on the banks of the Irrawaddy River. The ever-flowing Irrawaddy--the king of rivers--near the mill is like the Yangtse River in China, symbolizing the ever-growing kindred friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS VISIT REEDUCATION FARM

OW121708 Beijing XINHUA in English 1514 GMT 12 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jul (XINHUA)--Over 60 foreign correspondents in Beijing today visited the Tuanhe Reeducation-Through-Labor Farm in the southern suburbs of the city. Presently 2,400 inmates who have committed minor offences not serious enough to be criminally liable, are being reformed on the farm. Most of them are pickpockets and hooligans aged under 25. The periods of reform range from 1 to 3 years or 4 years for a few serious cases.

Liu Shili, deputy director of the farm, said the farm aims at transforming offenders to useful people through ideological reeducation, cultural and technical training and productive labor. It has 400 hectares of vineyards and orchards and more than 130 hectares of farmland.

The inmates work 6 hours every day except on Sundays and holidays, Liu Shili said. The labor is meant to rid them of the indulgence in ease and reluctance for work and at the same time to produce material wealth for the country. Last year, the farm produced two million kilograms of fruit and 360,000 kilograms of grain.

Each inmate receives a monthly pay of 26 yuan and enjoys free medical treatment, baths, films and cultural shows. About 70 percent of the inmates get a bonus of 10 to 15 yuan every 6 months.

Those who behave well are granted a 3-day home leave every 6 months, and all are permitted to meet their family members on the farm once a month.

A total of 4,400 inmates have been released from the farm since its establishment in 1978, and 60 percent of them are employed. Most of them work well at their posts, some are cited as model workers. Only 8 percent committed new crimes.

The number of inmates on the farm has dropped from 2,800 in 1980 to the present 2,400, Liu Shili said.

He told the visitors that leading officials at different levels come to the farm on inspection tours, many noted public figures come to give lectures and theatrical troupes to give performances.

Foreign reporters asked the inmates working on a vineyard about their life and work and viewed their dormitory. On the playgrounds, they watched some inmates doing drills, singing songs and playing musical instruments.

There are altogether three such farms in Beijing with a total of 6,000 to 7,000 inmates.

CSO: 4000/167

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UYGUR SINGER REMINISCES ON USSR TOUR

Beijing in Russian to the USSR 1800 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Dear Soviet listeners. Today we will introduce you to an Uygur artist, Karim. Karim appeared on the capital's stage for the first time in the role of an old Uygur. It is true that this was 22 years ago. Karim was 20 years old then. He had just come to Beijing from Xinjiang and had joined the song and dance ensemble of the General Political Department of the PLA.

Karim's name soon became known in other countries. In the autumn of 1965 Karim, together with the song and dance ensemble of the General Political Department of the PLA, toured the Soviet Union for 2 months.

The song "Where Are You Going, Uncle Kurban" which he sang accompanied by a women's choir was warmly received by Soviet audiences. Someone told Karim: I do not understand the words of your song, but from your movements I understood that that ordinary old man lives happily and that he, dressed in a new gown, carries fragrant melons to the PLA soldiers because they bring happiness to all the people of the country.

We asked Karim to tell us about his trip to the USSR:

[Begin recording in Uygur, fading into Russian translation] In 1965 we went on a tour of the Soviet Union. I have warm memories of this trip.

We arrived in the Soviet Union after traveling across Manchuria. We were immediately met by the friendly faces of the Soviet people. Hundreds of people came to meet us at all the stations, big and small. They warmly greeted us and shook our hands. I speak a little Russian; therefore I had to reply to these greetings more than the others.

We gave our first concert in Moscow in the House of the Soviet Army. It began with a choir. When we performed the Song of the Volga Boatmen, it was literally met with warm ovation from the audience. We stood on the stage and many of us had tears of emotion running down our cheeks.

Temperatures in the Soviet Union in October and November are a lot colder than in Beijing. Fresh flowers are hard to get. However, the people in the audience gave me fresh flowers at every concert. Many asked for my

autograph. I was walking along the river bank in Volgograd when some Soviet soldiers noticed and approached me. Are you Karim, they asked? After hearing my positive reply they joyfully embraced me, and we exchanged warm greetings. Then we sang together. At parting they gave me their badges of merit.

Of course not everything went smoothly during our tour. For instance, we went to Leningrad by train. It was cold in the carriage because there was no heating. We asked the train mechanic for the reason, but he replied that he did not know. Soviet passengers from other carriages found out about it and invited us into their carriages. The train mechanic was scolded for not heating the carriage of the Chinese ensemble. All of us were deeply touched by such a sincere gesture of friendship. We strongly believe that the Soviet people love us, and it is impossible to undermine the friendship between the people of China and the USSR.

In Leningrad, comrades from the Chinese Embassy prepared some ginger broth for us, and only thanks to our Soviet friends and the Chinese comrades from the embassy, nobody got sick and our concerts went with great success.

CSO: 1800/951

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NEPALESE OFFICIAL VISITS BANGLADESH--Dacca, 13 Jul (XINHUA)--Nepalese Foreign Secretary Jagdish Rana concluded his 3-day visit to Bangladesh today after holding discussions with his Bangladesh counterpart on preparations for the third South Asian foreign secretaries conference to be held in Islamabad early next month. Talking to newsmen before departure for Colombo, Rana said that his visit, which would take him also to Sri Lanka, the Maldives and India, was to hold consultations with the participating countries on the progress of work on the regional cooperation forum. He expressed satisfaction with his talks with Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Ataul Karim yesterday. He added, "We discussed how best we could develop and reinforce the bilateral relations between our two countries." During his visit here, Rana called on Chief Martial Law Administrator Hussain Mohammad Ershad, and exchanged views with Bangladesh Foreign Minister Aminur Rahman Doha on bilateral, regional and international issues. [Text] [OW141414 Beijing XINHUA in English 1240 GMT 14 Jul 82]

NEPAL AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--Beijing, 14 Jul (XINHUA)--New Nepalese Ambassador to China Guna Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana presented his credentials here this morning to Vice-Chairman Peng Chong of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Wu Xueqian was present. Ambassador Rana arrived here 11 July. [Text] [OW140505 Beijing XINHUA in English 0246 GMT 14 Jul 82]

OUTGOING AMBASSADOR LEAVES NICOSIA--Beijing, 7 Jul (XINHUA)--Chinese Ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus Cao Chi left his post for home today, according to a report from Nicosia. President Spiros Kiprianou received and had a cordial conversation with him yesterday. Earlier, Cao Chi gave a farewell reception which was attended by Cypriot Parliament speaker and Acting President George Ladas (the president was then abroad), Minister of State Katsellis and Minister of Education Ioannou. [Text] [OW080342 Beijing XINHUA in English 0257 GMT 8 Jul 82]

HONDURAN PRESIDENT MEETS REAGAN--Washington, 14 Jul (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan and visiting Honduran President Suazo Cordova have stressed efforts to further the relations between the two countries in their meeting here today. A senior White House official told reporters after the meeting that Reagan and Suazo reviewed the situation in Central America and discussed the U.S. economic and military aid to Honduras. The United States has

tried in the past few years to strengthen its relations with Honduras as part of its effort to preserve its interests and influence in Central America. Being involved in President Reagan's "Caribbean Basin Initiative," Honduras is to receive \$35 million economic assistance from the proposed a total of \$350 million. The United States has now 50 military advisers in Honduras, and U.S. arms sales to that country stand at \$10.5 million in fiscal 1982. Early this year, the United States agreed to offer \$21 million fund for improving three airfields in Honduras. In exchange, the U.S. Air Force is allowed to use these airfields when "necessary." During today's talks, Suazo appreciated the Reagan administration's assistance and asked for more aid. The White House official said some more economic and military aid is foreseen. Suazo is on a 3-day official visit to the United States. [Text] [OW150228 Beijing XINHUA in English 0159 GMT 15 Jul 82]

MADAGASCAR ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT MEETS ENVOY--Tananariven, 7 Jul (XINHUA)-- The president of the People's National Assembly of Madagascar Lucien Xavier Michel-Andrianarahanjaka, today stressed the importance of South-South cooperation when he received China's new Ambassador to Madagascar Dai Ping. Andrianarahanjaka said that South-South cooperation should be promoted in addition to North-South cooperation. There were immense potentials for cooperation between the developing countries in the fields of economy, science, technology and trade, he added. Andrianarahanjaka told Dai Ping that he was pleased with the relations of friendship and cooperation between Madagascar and China, especially China's assistance to Madagascar in development of its national economy. [Text] [OW080903 Beijing XINHUA in English 0755 GMT 8 Jul 82]

SANCTIONS AGAINST ARGENTINA LIFTED--Washington, 12 Jul (XINHUA)--U.S. President Ronald Reagan today declared termination of economic sanctions against Argentina, as effective on 12 July, and expressed the wish to repair United States' ties with Argentina and other Latin American countries. In a written statement, Reagan said that he has made this decision "after a thorough review of the situation in the South Atlantic following the cessation of hostilities." He said it is important now for all parties involved in the recent conflict "to put the past behind us, and to work for friendship and cooperation." "The United States, for its part, will do all it can to strengthen its historic ties among nations of this hemisphere," he added. The U.S. announced economic and military sanctions against Argentina on 30 April just before Britain began to attack the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands. The U.S. has not lifted its military sanctions against Argentina yet. [Text] [OW130820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0700 GMT 13 Jul 82]

SHANGHAI, YOKOHAMA FRIENDLY EXCHANGE--Tokyo, 9 Jul (XINHUA)--Yokohama and Shanghai have made specific arrangements for mutual exchange in 15 areas including industrial technology, economy, trade, scientific information, urban construction, medicine and agriculture. This was revealed in a minute of talks between the Yokohama and Shanghai delegations to the third session of the Consultative Council of the two cities for the promotion of mutual friendly exchanges. The session concluded in Yokohama today. In their talks, the two sides held that the friendly relations

between the two cities, particularly exchanges in the domains of technology and economy, should be furthered in accordance with the principle of cooperation and mutual benefit. The two sides also agreed that celebrations would be held in both Shanghai and Yokohama in 1983 to mark the 10th anniversary of the forging of friendly ties between the two cities.
[Text] [OW101205 Beijing XINHUA in English 1522 GMT 9 Jul 82]

DPRK OFFICIAL ON ANTI-U.S. ACTS--Pyongyang, 8 Jul (XINHUA)--People in South Korea have taken 36 actions against U.S. occupation since the beginning of the year. This was disclosed by Korean Deputy Foreign Minister Cho Kyu-il while briefing foreign envoys here today about the recent developments in South Korea. Cho Kyu-il said that anti-U.S. sentiments are surging high in the south where people strongly demand the withdrawal of the U.S. troops. They bitterly accuse the United States of pursuing a neo-colonial policy there. He said that it is intolerable for the United States to keep its troops in South Korea under the signboard of "UN troops" 29 years after the ceasefire. "If the U.S. troops quit South Korea and the U.S. imperialists stop their interference in the internal affairs of our country, the people of our country will be able to build an independent, neutral, democratic and peaceful confederal republic with their own efforts and realize the historical cause of reunifying the country." He said that in South Korea economic recession is aggravating, unemployment is growing and the contradictions and conflicts within the Chon Tu-hwan clique are increasing. The people's resentment for the Chon Tu-hwan clique is mounting, Cho Kyu-il said. [Text] [OW081850 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 8 Jul 82]

INDIA DECLARES ISRAELI CONSUL PERSONA NON GRATA--New Delhi, 8 Jul (XINHUA)--The Israeli consul in Bombay, Yosef Hasseen, has been declared persona non grata and asked to leave the country within 48 hours. A spokesman of the External Ministry pointed out that the Israeli consul had given a press interview which was highly objectionable, not in consonance with his consular functions and constituted an unacceptable interference in the domestic affairs of India. The spokesman said that India did not order the closure of the consulate. Earlier today, External Minister Rao was asked in Parliament whether India intended to ask Israel to wind up the consulate mission in the country in view of Israel's growing aggressiveness. The minister said the consulate's main function was to facilitate visits by Indian Jews to their relatives in Israel and handle related consular affairs. He also said that the government had repeatedly stated it would be second to none in imposing sanctions on Israel for the latter's policies and practices. [Text] [OW081958 Beijing XINHUA in English 1910 GMT 8 Jul 82]

USSR MANHANDLING OF REPORTER PROTESTED--Lisbon, 8 Jul (XINHUA)--Portuguese Foreign Ministry's secretary-general summoned the Soviet Ambassador Ivanovich Kalinin Wednesday and lodged a protest with him over the Soviet police violence against a Portuguese correspondent in Moscow. Carlos Find, a Portuguese correspondent who has been working in the Soviet capital since 1974 for the Portuguese News Agency and radio and television, was suddenly assaulted by Soviet police on the evening of 4 July in front of the International Hotel. He was beaten up and later detained for several hours by the Soviet police, suffering injuries in the liver and the

reproductive organs. He is now in Helsinki for medical treatment. In a parallel move Wednesday, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry issued a statement, saying "the Portuguese Government strongly protests against the Soviet violence against the Portuguese correspondent, and demands explanation from the Soviet authorities." The news of the Soviet police violence reached this capital Tuesday evening, and sparked a wave of indignation. Foreign Minister Futscher Pereira instructed the Portuguese ambassador in Moscow the same day to lodge a strong protest with the Soviet Government. Labor organizations, the Journalists Trade Union and other public organizations also issued statements in condemnation of the Soviet police violence. The Portuguese newspaper DIARIO DE NOTICIAS said editorially today: "Whatever false evidences the Soviet authorities may come up with, they cannot justify the police violence against the correspondent." [Text] [OW090918 Beijing XINHUA in English 0824 GMT 9 Jul 82]

POLAND LIFTS OVERNIGHT CURFEW--Warsaw, 8 Jul (XINHUA)--Polish authorities today lifted in all Poland the overnight curfew and the ban on assemblies, entertainment and other gatherings in public places, according to the Polish News Agency. The industrial city of Wroclaw, southwest Poland, was the last city under curfew up to yesterday. [Text] [OW090202 Beijing XINHUA in English 0151 GMT 9 Jul 82]

KWP DELEGATION LEAVES JILIN--On the invitation of the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee, an eight-member delegation of the Korean Worker's Party from Changang Province, DPRK, led by (Kang Myon-su), secretary of the Changang Provincial KWP Committee, recently paid a friendly visit to Changchun. It left Changchun for other provinces by train on 13 July. During their stay in Changchun Song Jiehan, secretary of the provincial CCP Committee and (Li Yiping), secretary of the Changchun Municipal CCP Committee, accompanied them to visit Jilin University and some plants. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Jul 82]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN TIANJIN--Yan Dakai, chairman of the Tianjin Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, and Wang Enhui, vice chairman of the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, received and feted a sewage administration delegation from Kobe, Japan, on 2 July. This delegation will examine the industrial sewage disposal situation in Tianjin and hold group discussions with technicians and specialized personnel. [SK030732 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 3 Jul 82]

CSO: 4005/1108

PARTY AND STATE

LECTURES ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

Seventh Lecture

OW121129 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0252 GMT 11 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 11 Jul (XINHUA)--Seventh lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The Main Contents of Democratic Centralism."

In accordance with the stipulations of the draft revised constitution, the contents of the principle of democratic centralism may be summed up as the following three aspects:

1. "The National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at various levels are elected democratically, responsible to the people and subject to their supervision." This defines that the people are masters of the country and that all state power belongs to the people. Thus this stipulation gives vivid expression to the idea of the people being masters of the country, clarifies the relationship between the People's Congress and the people and embodies the socialist nature of our country.
2. "All organs of state administration and all judicial and procuratorial organs are originated by the organs of state power to which they are responsible and to whose supervision they are subject." This stipulation further explains the relationship between the people's congresses--the organs of state power--and all other organs of state power. These organs of state administration and judicial and procuratorial organs are originated by the organs of state power to which they are responsible and to whose supervision they are subject. In the final analysis, they are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision.
3. "The division of functions and powers between the central and local state institutions shall conform to the principle of giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities." This stipulation mainly explains the relationship between the central and local authorities. Since our country practices a unitary system, the local authorities or governments must submit to the unified leadership of the central authorities or government and a proper division of functions and powers between central and

local state institutions must be made. However, owing to the fact that our country has a vast territory and a large population and the development of various localities is uneven, it is still not easy to specifically divide the functions and powers between the central and local state institutions. This is why the draft revised constitution only lays down a stipulation in principle in this regard--a stipulation that calls for giving full play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the local authorities under the unified leadership of the central authorities.

Eighth Lecture

OW131050 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0122 GMT 13 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 13 Jul (XINHUA)--Eighth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "Land Ownership Stipulated by the Draft Revised Constitution."

The draft revised constitution contains important provisions on the question of land ownership in our country. There are two kinds of land ownership in our country, namely, land owned by the state and land owned by the collectives.

Some people may wonder: The People's Republic of China has been founded for nearly 33 years, why is it still necessary to make a part of the land the property of the collectives? This is mainly determined according to our country's conditions. After the founding of new China, with the emergence of the agricultural producers cooperatives and the people's communes, land ownership has also changed gradually, from private property into property of the collectives. These lands in the rural areas have become the main foundation for the growth and prosperity of the economy collectively owned by the working people. Therefore, there is no need for us to turn these lands into state property as in some other countries. Even if the lands become state property, we still have to give the peasants the right to use the lands. So any provisions to this effect would be of little practical meaning, but would produce certain negative factors which would not be conducive to arousing the peasants' enthusiasm. It is precisely based on this consideration that the draft revised constitution also specifically stipulates that land used for building houses and the plots of agricultural and hilly land farmed for personal needs are the property of the collectives.

As to land in the cities, the situation is different. After more than 30 years of construction, urban industry and commerce have developed continuously, urban population has grown, and urban land has become increasingly important. To meet development needs, land in the cities must be owned by the state.

What happens if the state in the interest of the public needs land owned by the collectives? The draft revised constitution stipulates that the state may take over land for its use according to provisions of the law.

The draft revised constitution has also an added provision: "No organization or individual shall seize, buy, sell or lease land." Land in our country is owned by the public. To protect the socialist public ownership, prevent and check disruption to the state and collective ownership of land and safeguard the rational use of land, the buying, selling, leasing and seizure of land must be strictly prohibited. No organization or individual may violate this provision. It is in keeping with the fundamental interest and the nature of our state.

Ninth Lecture

OW160527 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0110 GMT 15 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 15 Jul (XINHUA)--Ninth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "Purpose of Production as Defined in the Draft Revised Constitution."

It is clearly stipulated in the draft revised constitution that China's purpose in developing production is to gradually improve the material and cultural life of the people and enhance national defense capabilities.

In order to attain this goal, it is necessary to develop production, which, in turn, calls for a set of measures and methods compatible with the actual situation in our country. In view of this, the following stipulations are specifically set forth in Article 16 of the draft revised constitution. First, enhance the political consciousness of the working people and increase their cultural, scientific and technical knowledge. To develop production, we must first rely on the political consciousness of the working people and fully mobilize their socialist initiative. At the same time, we must also see to it that our working people have the advanced scientific and cultural knowledge needed. Only when we take steps in both these areas will it be possible for the working people to bring their role into full play. Second, perfect systems of economic and enterprise management and apply various forms of socialist responsibility system. To boost the enthusiasm of the working people is one important approach in developing production. However, our systems of economic and enterprise management and our socialist responsibility system are currently far from perfect. There are many problems with them. Therefore, it is very necessary to cover this area in the stipulations of the draft revised constitution. Past experience has shown that, when the various management systems are imperfect, it is bound to obstruct and affect the efforts of the working people to give scope to their initiative and role. Third, practice strict economy and check waste. There are still many cases of waste in the various construction undertakings now underway in China. This has aroused intense resentment among the broad masses of the people. They demand clear provisions to be included in the law to check and overcome this practice. The inclusion of a relevant stipulation in the draft revised constitution is of practical significance and an answer to the wish of the people of the whole country.

Speaking about how to gradually improve the material and cultural life of the people on the basis of development of the social productive forces, there is another question of how to make rational arrangements, through unified planning, with due consideration for all concerned. In other words, the question of how to carefully handle the relationship between accumulation and consumption and that between the interests of the three entities of the state, the collective and the individual. For quite a time in the past our country laid too much stress on accumulation and paid relatively less attention to consumption. For example, we paid more attention to capital construction and heavy industry and conversely inadequate attention to light industry, people's housing requirement and the production of consumer goods. This calls for a summing up of the experience in order to make appropriate arrangements regarding the relative proportions of accumulation and consumption. Comrade Mao Zedong consistently emphasized the need to give due consideration to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, and that only by correctly handling the relationship between the three would it be possible to both develop the economic undertakings of the state and the collective and create favorable conditions for improving the material and cultural life of the people. It is precisely based on China's long experience in economic construction that the draft revised constitution stipulates: "The state makes appropriate arrangements with regard to accumulation and consumption, takes into account the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and, on the basis of the development of production, gradually improves the material and cultural life of the people and enhances national defense capabilities."

Tenth Lecture

OW171328 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0105 GMT 17 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 17 Jul (XINHUA)--Tenth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "How to Understand Enterprises' Powers of Decision in Management and Democratic Management as Stipulated in the Draft Revised Constitution."

Articles 18 and 19 of the draft revised constitution define powers of decision in management and democratic management enjoyed by state enterprises and units of the collective economy.

The powers of decision in management and democratic management granted to state enterprises and units of the collective economy by the draft revised constitution differ in their extent and scope. Because of the differences in ownership--state enterprises are owned by the state whereas the units of the collective economy are owned by the collectives, the draft revised constitution stipulates that state enterprises enjoy powers of decision in management within the limits specified by law on the condition that they submit to the unified leadership of the state and comprehensively fulfill their obligations under the state plans, while units of the collective economy have powers of decision in conducting independent economic activities on the condition that they accept the guidance of the state plans and

abide by the relevant laws. According to the draft revised constitution, there are a few preconditions for these two kinds of decision powers and the preconditions for state enterprises outnumber those for units of the collective economy.

Similarly, because of the differences in ownership, state enterprises and units of the collective economy also differ in the extent and circumstances of democratic management. In view of the fact that we are still in the process of trying out economic system reforms, the draft revised constitution does not specifically define the content and extent of the participation by workers and staff members of state enterprises in the management of their respective enterprises, and only stipulates that through the congresses of workers, staff members and other channels they may participate in management in accordance with provisions of the law. The draft revised constitution does not stipulate a certain form of participation or whether managerial personnel are elected. Because units of the collective economy are owned by the collectives, the draft revised constitution gives a clearer definition in this regard: Their managerial personnel shall be elected and removed and no other method shall be used; decisions on major issues concerning enterprise management shall be taken by all of their workers and staff members, and no one else will be allowed to make the decisions.

Judging from the aforesaid, on the one hand these articles of the draft revised constitution bring into full play socialist democracy and the people's right to participate in management which are conducive to harnessing the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses of people and to the socialist economic construction, while on the other hand they differentiate between the extent and scope of the decision powers and democratic management enjoyed by the enterprises owned by all of the people and the units of the collective economy, thereby enabling enterprises and economic units with two different kinds of ownership to develop wholesomely in accordance with the law.

Eleventh Lecture

OW191106 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0118 GMT 19 Jul 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 19 Jul (XINHUA)--Eleventh lecture on the draft revised constitution: "What Measures Are Stipulated in the Draft Revised Constitution to Develop Education and Culture?"

The stipulation on the development of education and culture contained in the draft revised constitution is fuller than those contained in several previous constitutions. It explicitly stipulates that the state promotes the planned socialist development of education, science, public health and sports, culture and art, the publishing and distribution of publications, and of the press, television and broadcasting, libraries, museums and cultural centers and other cultural undertakings. This fully shows that the state attaches extremely great importance to the development of education and culture in order to establish a high level of socialist spiritual and material civilization.

What measures are stipulated in the draft revised constitution to develop education and culture? To summarize, there are several measures as follows:

1. To develop various regular school education. The draft revised constitution stipulates the operation of various types of schools in order to wipe out illiteracy.

2. To develop education for workers and peasants.

3. To promote the spoken Han language in wide use throughout the country. The language barrier created by dialects adversely affects cultural exchanges among various parts of our country, obstructs the development of education and also inevitably impedes the development of economy and construction. Therefore the draft revised constitution stipulates: "The state promotes the spoken Han language in wide use throughout the country to facilitate the development of the cultural and educational work."

4. The state encourages educational and cultural workers to undertake creative work.

Article 45 of the draft revised constitution stipulates: Citizens have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural pursuits. The state encourages and assists creative endeavors, conducive to the interests of the people and human progress, by citizens engaged in education, science, technology, literature, art and other cultural work.

This stipulation will play an important role in promoting the development of education and culture in China.

5. The draft revised constitution also stipulates: "The state protects places of scenic or historical interests, valuable cultural relics and other important items of the historical and cultural legacies." This stipulation will surely facilitate the protection and development of our historical and cultural legacies and the establishment of socialist spiritual civilization in our country.

In order to develop education and culture, it is necessary to rely on intellectuals. For this reason, Article 21 of the draft revised constitution specifically deals with the training of intellectuals, increasing their number and giving full scope to their role in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/1107

PARTY AND STATE

QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 8, 25 Apr 82 pp 9-11

[Article by the Political Editorial Office of BAN YUE TAN: "Talking About the Revision of the Constitution"]

[Text] Q.: Why should the constitution be revised?

A.: Our present constitution was approved by the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. In August 1980, the Central Committee of the CCP presented to the Presidium of the Third Session of the Fifth NPC a proposal for the revision of the constitution, since due to the fact that the limitations of the historical conditions of the time when the present constitution was approved and the enormous changes in the situation since that time, many places are no longer suited to present political and economic life and to the people's need for building a modernized nation. To improve the state system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, develop socialist democracy, strengthen the socialist legal system, consolidate and strengthen the fundamental system of the entire nation, thoroughly guarantee the people's rights and nationality rights, consolidate and develop a stable, unified and lively political situation, bring all positive factors fully into play, develop the superiority of the socialist system, and accelerate the development of the four modernizations, requires rather systematic revision of the constitution.

At the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, the representatives conscientiously and thoroughly discussed the proposal of the Central Committee of the CCP and felt that the ideas of the Central Committee of the CCP were completely correct, so they passed the "Resolution of Revising the Constitution and Establishing a Constitutional Revision Committee."

Q.: What are the weaknesses and inadequacies of our present constitution?

A.: This constitution was approved right after the smashing of the "gang of four." At that time we had not had time to comprehensively summarize the experience and lessons of socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the PRC, nor did we have time to thoroughly sort out and eliminate the influence of certain "leftist" ideas on articles and clauses of the constitution during the decade of chaos, so that the present constitution still contains some political and theoretical viewpoints which are already out of

date, and some articles, clauses and stipulations which do not conform to objective circumstances. What is even more important is that since the First Session of the Fifth NPC, particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, there have been enormous changes and advances in our nation's political life, economic life and cultural life. What should be pointed out in particular is that the work emphasis of the party and nation has shifted to socialist modernization construction; the Central Committee of the CCP has made a new scientific analysis of the class situation within the country; the important advances in national democratization and the demand for further democratization; the state leadership system and the national economic system are implementing and will implement important reforms; the clear stipulation of autonomy rights in nationality areas, etc., all are not reflected and could not be reflected in a constitution passed at that time. Moreover, as the fundamental law of the state, many of the articles, clauses and stipulations of the existing constitution are not sufficiently complete, rigorous, specific and clear. Although the Second and Third Sessions of the Fifth NPC revised individual articles and clauses of the constitution, they still cannot meet the objective needs of our socialist modernization very well.

Q.: What is the guiding thinking in this constitutional revision?

A.: The "Resolution of Certain Historical Questions in Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which was passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, summarized the basic experience of our socialist revolution and socialist construction and is supported by all the peoples of the nation. This resolution will be the guiding thinking for this constitutional revision. In the spirit of this resolution, when revising the constitution we should uphold the four basic principles, uphold the system of democratic centralism, and uphold the nationality autonomy system as inseparable parts of the People's Republic of China.

This constitutional revision will be carried out on the foundation of the summarization of the experience in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the PRC. The revised constitution should reflect and benefit the reform and improvement of our socialist political system, economic system and cultural system, and should fully embody the interests and wishes of all the nationalities of China in our country's new period of historical development.

Q.: What will be the methods and measures of constitution revision work?

A.: This constitutional revision will uphold the correct method of integrating the leadership and the masses. We should conscientiously summarize the historical experience of formulating and revising the constitution since the founding of the PRC, and should proceed from the actual situation in our country, making our own experience the foundation, at the same time consulting contemporary constitutions abroad, especially the constitutions of socialist nations, to absorb the good things from them. One is "integration of the leadership and the masses," and one is "integration of domestic experience and international experience." These are two pieces of constitutional experience which were summarized at the time of leading and formulating the 1954 constitution by Comrade Mao Zedong. This constitutional revision will fully respect these two pieces of experience.

The Third Session of the Fifth NPC resolved to establish a Constitutional Revision Committee to be chaired by Ye Jianying. It will propose a draft constitution to be made public by the Standing Committee of the NPC, it will be handed over to all nationalities in the country for discussion, and then after revision on the basis of opinions, the Constitutional Revision Committee will forward it to the full session of the NPC for consideration.

Q.: How will the constitution revision work go forward?

A.: On 15 September 1980 the Constitutional Revision Committee held its first meeting and decided to establish a Constitutional Revision Committee Secretariat. After the secretariat was established, they collected opinions from various areas. Provinces, autonomous regions, independent cities, relevant sections of the Central Committee of the CCP, committees and other subordinate agencies of the State Council, the General Political Department of the PLA, people's organizations, all responded to the request of the Constitutional Revision Committee's Secretariat and held forums, collected many opinions and sent written reports to the Secretariat. The Secretariat invited scholars and specialists in law, politics, and economics from Beijing and other places to hold many meetings. The Secretariat also received many letters with opinions and suggestions concerning revising the constitution from the masses in various places and proposals from the NPC concerning revising the constitution. The Secretariat conscientiously researched these opinions and suggestions, and researched the three constitutions since the founding of new China and relevant documents, researched the several constitutions of old China and also researched existing constitutions in various nations of the world and constitutions of some nations in the past and used them as reference materials for relevant aspects of our constitution. On this foundation, they have already produced the "Draft of a Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" (discussion draft).

Q.: When will all the people get the discussion draft to discuss?

A.: The Constitutional Revision Committee held its second full meeting from 27 February to 16 March 1982 in Beijing. The committee members discussed every article of the draft and suggested revisions. Following the conclusion of the 22nd Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth NPC, the Standing Committee also held a discussion of this discussion draft and suggested many revisions. During this period, they also received suggested changes from some members of the NPPCC, responsible persons from relevant sections of the Party Central Committee and state agencies, responsible persons from the Central Military Commission leadership organs, and responsible persons from provinces, autonomous regions and independent cities. After the Constitutional Revision Committee made further revisions in the Secretariat's discussion draft, the third full meeting was convened beginning 12 April to discuss and deliberate the draft of the constitutional revision, and then asked the Standing Committee of the NPC to consider it and make it public and hand it over to all peoples of all nationalities for discussion. It is estimated that in the second half of this year the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC will deliberate the draft of the revised constitution of the PRC, and that the Sixth NPC will produce and put into effect a constitution after the revisions.

PARTY AND STATE

LECTURE SERIES ON RULING PARTY'S WORK STYLE

Ninth Talk

OW111408 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 6 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Peng Xiangful): "Bureaucracy Is a Virus Corrupting the Body of the Party"--ninth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] At the third plenary session of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the CCP Central Committee, Comrade Deng Yingchao commented on the need to make unremitting efforts to correct the party's work style: Bureaucracy is a virus which corrupts the body of our party and our state. It is extremely harmful to the party, state and people. We must not turn a blind eye to it.

Why does bureaucracy exist in a socialist country and in the ruling Communist Party? What are the harmful effects of bureaucracy on the party and the socialist cause? How should we combat bureaucracy? These are the questions we shall discuss in this talk.

First, why does bureaucracy exist in the ruling party?

Some comrades feel that since our party is the vanguard of the proletariat, since our political power is a new type of political power representing the people's will and interests, and since our country is a country where the people are the masters, there should be no bureaucracy in our party and government.

Bureaucracy is a product of the exploiting system, an ideology of the exploiting classes. In the history of mankind, all political systems of the exploiting classes are bureaucratic systems, and all states of the exploiting classes are bureaucratic states. The exploiting classes always achieve political control over the working people by establishing bureaucratic institutions representing their class interests. The bureaucratic system and control has lasted several thousand years. It has infiltrated every aspect of social life, and its influence is deep-rooted.

With the founding of the people's political power, the bureaucratic institutions of the exploiting classes have been completely overthrown. However, as a remnant of the old society which has a history of several thousand

years, bureaucracy cannot possibly disappear overnight with the overthrown old system. It still gives off a foul smell and poisons us. It inevitably will corrode the proletarian state power.

The status of the ruling party makes it easy for our comrades to be tainted with bureaucratic habits. This is also an important reason why bureaucracy exists in the Communist Party.

Next let us discuss the second question: Bureaucracy is a serious problem faced by our party now.

Due to the 10 years of internal disorder, our party's fine traditions have been seriously damaged. As a result, bureaucracy has grown among some of the party's leading cadres. Since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that bureaucracy is seriously corrupting the body of the party and that bureaucratic phenomena in party and state organs have grown to such an extent that they can no longer be tolerated. The party Central Committee has made combating bureaucracy a fundamental part of the task to rectify the party's work style and has called on comrades in the whole party to wage a resolute struggle against bureaucracy.

Now our party and state are faced with the arduous tasks of the four modernizations. Bureaucracy of every description is a serious obstacle to the four modernizations drive. To insure the smooth progress of the four modernizations, we must establish from top to bottom a working system which is efficient and commands respect. However, the existing serious bureaucracy is causing problems in some links in the operation of our state apparatus, and the work efficiency of some organizations is very low. The principles and policies put forward by the party Central Committee cannot be promptly implemented. Many problems that require urgent solution cannot be handled in good time. Some cadres, tainted with bad bureaucratic habits, are neglecting their duties; are extremely irresponsible in work, paying no attention to the trust placed in them by the party and people; are unconcerned about state property and are causing serious damage to the state's construction program. Unless this state of affairs is basically changed, it will be very difficult for our socialist modernization to progress smoothly.

Finally, let us discuss the third question: How should we prevent and overcome bureaucracy?

Under socialist conditions, because bureaucracy mainly and extensively manifests itself in problems of ideology and work style and in corrupt practices resulting from certain imperfect systems, we must, in waging a struggle against bureaucracy, grasp the nature of the problems, adopt correct methods and proceed step by step in an orderly way under the party's leadership. We must not repeat the erroneous practices of the "cultural revolution."

To prevent and overcome bureaucracy, we must first of all strengthen the ideological building of the party. Only by constantly strengthening its own ideological building and always preserving its character as the vanguard of the proletariat can the ruling Communist Party effectively resist corruption by bureaucracy. As for Communist Party members, only by constantly strengthening and tempering their party spirit, never forgetting the party's purpose, firmly establishing the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly and working as their public servants and consciously waging a struggle against the influence of old traditions, will they stay free of contamination by bureaucratic habits.

Secondly, we must reform and improve the various party and state systems. The existence of bureaucracy is directly related to the imperfection of our socialist system. At present, our state is in the process of simplifying the administration and reforming the economic management structure, the leadership system and the cadre system. These are important measures for preventing and overcoming bureaucracy.

Thirdly, we must strengthen organizational supervision and discipline inspection work. To prevent and overcome bureaucracy, we must have constant and strict supervision over and checkups on leading cadres and working personnel at various levels. This calls for many forms and methods of supervision. There should be supervision from below by the masses as well as organizational supervision within the party. There should be criticism and education as well as appropriate use of the legal weapon. The draft revised constitution includes provisions against bureaucracy.

Fourthly, we must promote socialist democracy and perfect the democratic life of the party and the state. Guaranteeing the people's democratic rights and strengthening mass supervision of cadres are important ways of preventing and overcoming bureaucracy.

Our party certainly will be able to wash clean the bureaucratic dirt on its body, effectively resist corruption by bureaucracy, maintain a healthy and clean body and preserve its proletarian vanguard character.

Tenth Talk

OW111838 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 7 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Wang Fubang): "Improve Work Style and Raise Work Efficiency"--10th in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] Low work efficiency is a universal problem at present. Without solving this problem it is impossible to accelerate the realization of the four modernizations. This situation has improved somewhat since the downfall of the gang of four because the CCP Central Committee has made a serious effort to improve the party's work style; however, a complete success has not been made in improving the party's work style. To successfully fulfill their tasks in the new historical period of development, comrades of the whole party, particularly leading cadres at various levels, should make

a determined effort to improve their work style and raise their production and work efficiency. Three questions to be discussed follow:

1. The urgency and importance of raising work efficiency. All societies and ruling classes invariably pay attention to raising work efficiency. The proletariat who have seized political power must give top priority to creating rate of labor productivity higher than that of capitalists.

Since the downfall of the gang of four, the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals have turned their hatred for the gang of four into strength and have worked hard with the sense of responsibility of the masters of their country and in disregard for time and rewards. A large number of new long march shock workers, heroes and model workers in socialist construction have emerged from among them. The masses of cadres have displayed high spirits and are actively leading the people in accelerating the country's modernization. Ignoring their advanced years, many veteran proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are working selflessly. They have won the people's love and admiration. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that there are some people, including our party members and leading party cadres, who have failed to keep abreast of the times and live up to the party's requirements. They work at a slow pace. Some cadres, who are still affected by bureaucracy, try to postpone work whenever they can. Thus, work progresses slowly in the departments and unites under their control.

2. Work style is the key factor that affects work efficiency. There are many factors that affect work efficiency, but there are generally two factors; the subjective and the objective. Objectively speaking, the set of structures, systems and organizations that have been established over the years has become increasingly unsuitable for the developing situation. Overstaffing is bound to restrict the display of enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness, dampen work enthusiasm and prevent the raising of work efficiency. Permission from many levels is required for getting things done and much valuable time is wasted while the official document travels from one department to another. This also affects work efficiency. Subjectively speaking, some of our party and state cadres and functionaries have gradually developed a bureaucratic work style. For instance, some departments put on airs making it very difficult to meet the personnel in charge in order to get something done. Some cadres and functionaries have even become irresponsible. They pretend to know something when they don't and even abuse their power. The result is that they not only affect work efficiency but also cause undue work, production and construction losses. Look at another example. Some people are ideologically lazy, have no sense of responsibility, do their work perfunctorily, fail to keep their word, try to avoid contractions and dare not bear responsibility; others separate themselves from reality and the masses. As they have no knowledge of the situation and no plans in mind, they resort to ordering people around. Some people become arrogant and complacent and think themselves cleverer than others. They become subjective and arbitrary and reject the masses' opinion. Some people do not use their brains, stick to established practices, lack the vigor for advancement and dare not

make further explorations. If these comrades do not get rid of these bad ways of thinking and this bad work style, they cannot raise work efficiency or even do their own jobs well.

Therefore, in order to raise work efficiency it is necessary to start with structural reform and the improvement of work style. Generally speaking, work style is always an important factor which affects the improvement of work efficiency. The work of restructuring the various ministries and commissions of the government has been basically completed. The government structure has been simplified. Various forms of practical work responsibility systems have been established in light of actual conditions. The practice of shifting responsibility onto others and trying to avoid responsibility has been reformed. Following the simplification of the leading bodies, our cadre ranks will eventually be revolutionized, better educated, more competent professionally and younger. Those veteran cadres who have retired or retreated to the second line have been given proper arrangements. In fact, this has organizationally solved the existing system where leading cadres serve for a lifetime.

3. Work style transformation lies in changing the mental attitude. Our party developed a set of fine work styles during the long years of revolutionary wars. Comrade Mao Zedong summarized them into the three great work styles: The integration of theory with practice, forging close ties with the masses, and criticism and self-criticism. These fine work styles are one of the fundamental guarantees that have enabled us to win a victory in our revolutionary cause and construction. To raise work efficiency it is necessary to improve the work style of our leading cadres.

Our party has consistently taught its members that at all times they must subordinate their individual interest to the interests of the nation and the people, that they must do their work in line with the great communist ideal and foster a strong sense of revolutionary responsibility and devotion to their work, and that they must carry forward the spirit of working selflessly for the public.

In short, improving our work style and raising our work efficiency is an urgent and arduous task confronting the whole party and the people throughout the world. As long as we understand this problem clearly and correctly, regard it as important and adopt effective measures to resolutely improve our work style, it is possible to markedly raise the work efficiency in various departments and units.

Eleventh Talk

OW120930 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 8 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Jia Chunfeng): "Persist in the Struggle Against Corruption and Degeneration, Maintain the Party's Purity"--11th in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] At present we are faced with a serious struggle between the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and the socialist idea of opposing

corruption. All party members and the party's cadres have to experience a new serious test in this struggle.

In order to maintain the party's purity, our party has carried out struggles against corruption at all turns of our great revolution. At the second plenary session of the seventh CCP Central Committee, on the eve of the victory of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong timely pointed out: "With victory, certain moods may arise within the party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some communists, who have not been conquered by enemies with guns and have been worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation." After founding of the People's Republic of China, numerous facts exposed during the movement against the three evils [corruption, waste and bureaucracy] and the movement against the five evils [bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation] fully proved the correctness of Comrade Mao Zedong's prediction. In our party ranks, there were really some who were hit by sugar-coated bullets. However, by relying on the strength of the people, our party defeated the offensive of the bourgeoisie and maintained the purity of the Communist Party.

Our party has grown in strength in the struggle against corruption by the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. Our party has an honorable history and a fine tradition of fighting against corruption. Since the convocation of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have adopted a policy of opening the door to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home to meet the needs of promoting socialist modernization under the new historical situation. Practice has proved that this policy is completely correct. The implementation of this policy has brought about significant results in making the national economy prosper. We must fully affirm this achievement and must never waver in our determination to implement this policy.

However, we must stay sober-minded and clearly be aware of the attack by corrosive ideas and the way of life of the bourgeoisie, in carrying out the policy of opening our door to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home, there naturally will be some weak-willed people who will lead a dissolute life and degenerate and some lawless people who will use the opportunity to sabotage our socialist economic activities.

Facts show that after the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, class struggle still exists in a limited scope owing to certain factors at home and the influence from foreign countries. Hostile elements at home and abroad have been using various means in various forms to undermine

our country's socialist modernization. Therefore, we must persist in carrying out the policy of opening our door to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home on one hand and resolutely crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic field and launch struggle against corruption and degeneration on the other. Unless we crack down on serious economic crimes and launch struggle against corruption and degeneration we will drift off from the socialist course and the party will be seriously hurt.

The party Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that serious tendencies of bourgeois liberalism actually exist in various fields of our society and that criminal activities in the economic field including smuggling, the selling of smuggled goods, speculation, swindling, bribing and taking bribes are much more serious than in 1952 when the movements against the three evils and against the five evils were launched.

To storm a fortified position, it is best to first destroy it inside. Bourgeois ideas have already made incursions into the militant Chinese Communist Party. This is a fact which we cannot tolerate. Serious criminal activities in the economic field have corrupted and are corrupting the ranks of our cadres: have damaged and are damaging our party, the people's government, the people's army and our country's reputation; have poisoned and are poisoning the people's mind; have contaminated and are contaminating social customs; have disturbed and are disturbing social security; have hampered and are hampering the correct implementation of the policy of opening the door to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home; and have damaged and are damaging our socialist modernization. Therefore, the struggle against this danger and adverse current is an extremely important task which has a bearing on the life and death of our party and the future of our country. We must stay sober-minded and attach great importance to this struggle. We should fully understand the great immediate significance and profound historical significance of this struggle.

We must foster the lofty communist ideal in order to be clear in our goals, heighten our spirit and strengthen our ability to discern and resist the corruptive ideas of the bourgeoisie, the influence of feudalist remnants and the invasion of the bourgeois way of life.

While implementing the policy of opening the door to the outside world in the new historical period, it is unavoidable that some bad elements and influences of capitalism will enter into our country. As we implement the policy of enlivening the economy at home and expanding the decision-making powers of enterprises, it is possible that tendencies of departmentalism, decentralism and liberalism will emerge. Under such circumstances, the strengthening of education on communist morals is of great immediate significance.

Communist morality calls on all Communist Party members to take a clear-cut stand and to dauntlessly struggle against bad people and bad things. We must never connive with, tolerate or shield criminal offenders.

In order to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and maintain the party's purity, every Communist Party member must strictly obey the party's discipline and protect the socialist legal system. This is a guarantee for implementing the party's principles and policies.

All Communist Party members are equal in regard to the party's discipline and the law of the state. Any party member, regardless of his position, will be duly punished if he violates the party's discipline or the law of the state. No one should give indiscriminate protection to, intercede for or shield criminal offenders. In particular, party cadres should strive to be models in observing discipline and obeying law. All party cadres, especially those who assume leading posts, should with their own words and deeds stop such evil practices as currying favor with or flattering others and engaging in malpractices for selfish ends. We should take strong measures against unhealthy practices and encourage healthy trends.

In short, so long as all Communist Party members constantly strengthen and heighten their party spirit, firmly foster communist ideals, keep high communist moral standards and strictly observe party discipline, they can certainly raise the party's fighting ability, successfully carry out the struggle against corruption and degeneration, maintain the party's position as the vanguard of the working class, preserve the party's purity, and unite and lead the people of the whole country to carry forward the cause of socialist modernization.

Twelfth Talk

OW121420 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 9 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Shang Heng): "Persist in Conducting Criticism and Self-Criticism and Constantly Strengthen the Party's Fighting Capacity"--12th in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] To fundamentally improve the party's work style, party organizations at various levels should strengthen regular organizational activities and seriously conduct criticism and self-criticism. Only in this way can the party's fighting capacity be constantly strengthened. In this connection, we shall discuss three points.

The first point is to seriously conduct criticism and self-criticism so that the party will always preserve its progressive character.

A proletarian political party, like other things, develops and advances through contradictions and struggles. Our party is able to preserve its progressive character because it can consciously use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism according to the objective laws governing the development of things to add to its achievements and correct its mistakes and resist contamination by all kinds of political dust and germs.

Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly advocated serious criticism and self-criticism in the party. He held that this is a weapon to strengthen party organization and enhance the party's fighting capacity.

During the war years, because of the difficult circumstances, our party members were rather modest and prudent, and they found it easy to make criticism and self-criticism when they had shortcomings or made mistakes. After coming to power, the status of the ruling party easily led to the development of arrogance, complacency, bureaucracy and other erroneous ideas and work styles among some party members. Therefore, the ruling party should attach even greater importance to using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to constantly increase the party members' political consciousness and correct shortcomings and mistakes when necessary.

The second point is that we should clear our confused understanding and take up the weapon of criticism.

Why do some of our party organizations and party members fail to carry out criticism and self-criticism? As some comrades put it, their weapon of criticism has rusted and has been cast away. We feel that it is mainly because during the 10 years of internal disorder, Lin Biao and the gang of four messed up our party's work style. Under their pernicious influence, some party members have to this day still some confused ideas. Therefore, to take up the weapon of criticism, we must clear up these confused ideas.

1. Whether criticism and self-criticism are meant to attack people or to help them? We think that this represents failure to draw a distinction between the gang of four's "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" and normal inner-party criticism and self-criticism. The gang of four's "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" were intended to attack and overthrow people in order to carry out their scheme aimed at usurping party and state leadership. By contrast, normal inner-party criticism is a method of presenting the facts and reasoning things out and of seeking truth from facts used among comrades to sincerely help each other and show mutual concern.
2. What are normal and healthy relations among comrades? In our party, the relations between those at higher levels and those at lower levels and among party members are relations among comrades. When opinions differ, we should speak frankly, face each other with absolute sincerity and consciously use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We believe that this kind of relationship is normal and healthy. It reflects the selfless virtue of the proletarian vanguard.
3. Does criticism help enhance unity or intensify contradictions? Some comrades, particularly some principal responsible comrades in leading bodies, are worried that mutual criticism will adversely affect stability and unity. Proper criticism and self-criticism within leading bodies will help comrades achieve unity in thinking, understanding and action and is conducive to correcting the party's work style and bringing into play the power of collective leadership. Unity formed on this basis is real unity.

The above-mentioned confused ideas are in the final analysis attributable to considerations about personal gain and loss on the question of criticism and self-criticisms. If we are too much concerned about our personal gain

and loss, we naturally cannot adhere to principle and truth. Therefore, to really take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, the key lies in getting rid of selfish ideas and fostering the spirit of being responsible to the party, the people and other comrades. Only in this way can we uphold truth instead of being concerned about face-saving.

The third point is that we should carry out criticism and self-criticism in a correct and serious way.

Recently the party Central Committee called on us to courageously take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and get rid of the political dust and germs on our own bodies. The party Central Committee also specifically called on leading members of party organizations at various levels to be well prepared to carry out correct, not distorted, serious, not perfunctory criticism and self-criticism. To achieve these goals, what are the things that we should keep in mind?

1. We should adhere to the principle of unity-criticism-unity. Our purpose in carrying out criticism is to clarify our thinking, unite our comrades and enhance the party's fighting capacity, and nothing else.
2. Criticism should be based on facts and should be reasonable and analytical. We should analyze our comrades' mistakes to see whether they are mistakes of principle or mistakes of a general nature, whether they concern questions of thinking and understanding or of organization and discipline, whether they are consistent or accidental errors, and whether they are complete or partial errors. They should be accurately recognized. There should be no exaggeration or minimization, much less seizing on one mistake without considering any other things or elevating minor mistakes to the level of principle.
3. Our attitude in carrying out criticism must be serious and not perfunctory.
4. We must give full scope to democracy. Criticism and self-criticism should be carried out in a democratic atmosphere, in which all comrades should have no worry, speak out freely and say whatever is on their minds. Especially in dealing with comrades who have made mistakes, we should respect them and allow them to defend themselves, explain the circumstances and have reservations.
5. Leading cadres should take the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism. In short, by taking the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism, the leading cadres are contributing to creating a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Thirteenth Talk

OW130339 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 11 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Li Buxin): "Communists Should Struggle for the Realization of Communism All Their Lives"--13th in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] It is 61 years since the founding of the CCP. The day our party was founded, it explicitly declared that the ultimate aim of its struggle is the realization of communism.

Our country has now entered an historical period in which we are undertaking socialist modernization in an all-round way. Our party is now the ruling party, with a membership of nearly 40 million. Under the party's leadership, people throughout the country are working hard to make China a modern, powerful socialist state with highly developed democracy and civilization.

The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC pointed out: Socialism aims not just at eliminating all systems of exploitation and all exploiting classes but also at greatly expanding productive forces, improving and developing socialist relations of production and the superstructure and, on this basis, gradually eliminating all class differences and all major social distinctions and inequalities which are chiefly due to the inadequate development of the productive forces until communism is finally realized.

This is a great, unprecedented revolution in human history. Our present struggle to build a modern socialist country is precisely a stage of this great revolution. How should a communist contribute to this great revolutionary movement?

1. A communist should firmly keep his historic mission in mind and have firm faith in lofty communism. On the eve of the founding of new China, Comrade Mao Zedong warned the whole party: With victory, certain moods may grow within the party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. He then pointed out in all earnestness: After victory, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. Some party members who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets.

To guard against such a situation, our party took a series of measures to combat bureaucracy and resist the erosive influence of bourgeois ideology. Facts show that the overwhelming majority of our party members have been able not only to defeat the enemy with guns but also to withstand sugar-coated bullets, retain their communist purity and unceasingly struggle for the realization of lofty communist ideals. On the whole, our party is good and has a strong fighting capability.

However, we should also note that capitalist ideas are corrupting our party organizations, party members and cadres from various sides. There are some infirm elements in our party. Hit by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, some of them have become morally degenerate. Therefore, conscientiously resisting the erosive influence of capitalist ideas is extremely important for a party member in having firm faith in communism and retaining his communist purity.

There is another situation of which we should take note: Some of our party members have lost confidence in the future and have begun to waver in their communist faith and ideals because the party made mistakes in its guiding ideology during a certain period, the country meets with serious difficulties, or because we are still very backward in production, the people's living standards are rather low and the superiority of the socialist system has not yet been brought into full play. This is wrong.

We should not lose sight of the achievements on all fronts since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. We should realize that, although there are still many difficulties on our road of advance, our future is bright and our undertakings are full of promise. Communists' duty is to lead the people to surmount difficulties and strive for victory.

2. One's personal interests must be subordinated to those of the party and the people. To unconditionally subordinate one's personal interests to those of the party, it is most important for one to have the lofty quality of selflessness and to resolutely overcome individualism of every description. Under no circumstances must we take individualism lightly. Once we slightly lower our guard against individualism, it will quickly spread and even expand out of hand. In the 10 years of turmoil, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques [words indistinct]. (?As a result, some party members regard it, not as a disgrace, but as an honor to practice individualism). Some party members have become so corrupt as to take bribes and engage in smuggling; others have engaged in speculation and profiteering and have stolen state of collective property; others have become morally degenerate and still others worship, and have blind faith in, things foreign. Some party members know full well that what they are going to do is not permitted by party discipline and state law, but they do it anyway in order to satisfy their selfish desires. They are few in number but are black sheep in the party. They have produced a very bad influence and have seriously damaged the party's prestige and corrupted its morals. These people have lost their qualities as communists and have betrayed communist ideals.

Here I would like to say a few words to young and middle-aged cadres who have just been promoted to leading positions: After taking leading positions, you have to pay attention to many problems. However, the most important is to guard against individualism in your mind. With such vigilance, you will be able to withstand sugar-coated bullets of various kinds. We believe that you will certainly be able to bravely shoulder the heavy burden of carrying on the unfinished task and blazing the way into the future and to prove yourselves worthy of the great trust placed in you by the party and the people.

3. Communists should do their work well with a communist attitude, play an exemplary vanguard role and lead the broad masses forward. It takes the arduous efforts of people of a number of generations to realize the lofty communist ideals step by step. Socialism is the initial stage of communism. The socialist modernization we are now undertaking is part of communist construction. Although communists work at different posts according to division of labor, their objective is the same. Therefore, they should do their work well, with single-hearted devotion, in order to do their little bit towards building socialism.

Owing to the erosive influence of the gang of four on people's minds and the slackening in our effort to do political and ideological work, some people, including party members, have this erroneous idea in their minds: They regard advocating a communist attitude towards work as a pernicious, leftist influence and haggling over remuneration as natural. With this erroneous idea, some party members choose whatever is to their personal advantage in work--they do whatever is beneficial and do not do anything not beneficial to themselves. Some party members just muddle through and do not strive to make progress; others only do the least that is expected of them and sometimes even fail to do that; and still others, who are bureaucratic and irresponsible, hold official positions but do not do the work required in such a position. Their attitude towards work and work style are incompatible with the honored title of communist. Such an attitude and work style have not only affected the party's prestige among the masses but have seriously harmed socialist construction.

Each and every communist should have firm party spirit, put strict demands on himself and bring his enthusiasm and creativeness into full play in work. He should brace himself, work hard and play an exemplary role in every aspect. He should take practical action in realizing lofty communist ideals. As only all party members, or the overwhelming majority of party members, can uphold communist ideals and conviction, guide their words and deeds with communist ideology and morality and, with this, influence and bring the broad masses along, this will turn into a tremendous spiritual and material power to greatly accelerate the socialist modernization of our country.

CSO: 4005/1107

PARTY AND STATE

CPPCC COMMITTEE HOLDS FORUM ON FLAG, EMBLEM

OW110038 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1259 GMT 8 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 8 Jul (XINHUA)--The National CPPCC Committee held its seventh special topic forum on the draft of the revised constitution this morning to discuss the issue of the national flag and emblem. All the people attending the forum agreed with the specifications included in the draft of the revised constitution on the national flag and emblem. They pointed out: The five-star red flag and the dignified and splendid national emblem have already been deeply imprinted in the minds of the people of all nationalities in the country, and have become the symbol to inspire the people of all nationalities to give full play to the spirit of patriotism and strengthen the great revolutionary unity. They will also impel us to forge ahead toward new victories.

Hu Juewen, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National CPPCC Committee, said: The national flag and national emblem of a state are the banner and symbol of that country. In the past, all of us had lived in the old society over a protracted period. In the old society, we lived in humiliation and poverty and were always bullied and suppressed. After the founding of new China, China's international standing rises in each passing day. Our national flag and emblem have aroused full attention and won the respect from all the people in the world. We must continue to work with a will to make the country strong and turn China into a highly democratic and civilized modern and strong socialist country at an early date so that our national flag and emblem will receive even greater attention and enjoy even higher respect from all the people in the world.

Liu Lantao, vice chairman of the National CPPCC Committee, said: The five-star red flag was adopted by the first plenary session of the National CPPCC Committee on 27 September 1949. On 1 October that year, Chairman Mao had personally flown the first national flag. From that time, the five-star red flag which symbolizes revolution and unity, has always been fluttering over the vast land of the motherland and various places in the world as a symbol of new China. The glorious five-star red flag reflects the momentous results attained by countless martyrs and heroes who had waged arduous struggles and laid down their lives valiantly in the past 100 years and more, particularly since the "4th of May" movement. It tells

us not to forget the past or the difficulties we had experienced in pioneering a great cause. The five-star red flag will forever guide us to incessantly forge ahead and march toward communism. Zhou Gucheng, Standing Committee member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, said: The five-star red flag has shown the irrefutable truth that without the Communist Party, there will be no new China. Holding aloft the five-star red flag, we have attained the initial prosperity for the motherland. From now on, we will continue to hoist high the five-star red flag and forge ahead while upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Also speaking at the forum were Huang Dingchen, Standing Committee member of the National CPPCC Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the China Zhi Gong Dang; Ai Qing, member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the Writers' Association; Sa Kongliao, Standing Committee member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League; Wu Gengmei, Standing Committee member of National CPPCC Committee and deputy secretary general of the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association; Ge Zhicheng, member of the National CPPCC Committee and secretary general of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy; and Tian Fuda, member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the General Office of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. Zeng Liansong, designer of the national flag, also delivered a written statement at the forum.

CSO: 4005/1107

PARTY AND STATE

OFFICIALS BLASTED FOR BENDING LAW

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 June 82 p 8

[Article by Liu Chunsheng [0491 2504 3932]: "Officials Are Cautioned Against Receiving Gifts"]

[Text] Government officials' accepting bribes and bending the law is very harmful to the state. Obviously they should be severely punished. On this point, it isn't only in these days when the people are the masters of our country, that this is just as it should be; even in ancient times, rigid rules were set in the laws promulgated by the feudal rulers: "Government officials taking bribes in kind such as cloth or silk should be punished by '40 floggings (by using either a whip or a cane)' for each foot of cloth or silk received; officials in charge taking bribes or perverting the law should be punished by 100 floggings for each foot of cloth or silk received." Yet, due to the inherent nature of the exploiting class, the practice of offering and receiving bribes were destined to continue. Under ordinary conditions, laws of this kind were but a mere scrap of paper. It was just as the common people had observed: "The 'yamen' gate facing the south is open wide; with right but no money do not go inside."

But, even in ancient times, there were both wrong as well as venal officials. It is true that there were those who were honest in performing their official duties. Lu Zhi [7120 6360], the prime minister of Emperor De Zong [1795 1350] of the Tang Dynasty was one among them.

Proceeding from the purpose of safeguarding the longterm interests of the feudal class, Lu Zhi was in bitter hatred of bribery. At that time, Emperor De Zong himself was the one who was insatiably avaricious to receive "tributes." Lu Zhi repeatedly remonstrated with him in extreme terms not to do that. And Lu Zhi set himself as an example. He rejected without exception "gifts" from various places. The fatuous De Zong not only disregarded his advice, but instead, passed word on to Lu Zhi that "you have gone too far in keeping yourself honest. You have categorically rejected gifts from all provinces. It seems to me that it does not stand to reason. Things such as a whip or a pair of shoes, if accepted, do not matter much." This is perhaps an obvious example of ancient times showing a superior trying to persuade his subordinate to practice favoritism and accept bribes. But Lu Zhi did not waver in the least. He stated several

reasons in his answer to the emperor: First, even ordinary officials are prohibited from practicing bribery, let alone the prime minister who is supposed to be "responsible for decency." Second, once an example of bribery is set, it is bound to develop from small gifts to valuables: "If the practice of receiving a whip or a pair of shoes is allowed to continue, it will certainly lead to gold and jade!" Things always develop gradually. "Continuing tiny drops will definitely cause a disastrous flood." If small briberies are not rejected, it will lead to receiving more valuable ones. Third, bribery must be accompanied by favoritism: "Since a private deal has been made, it is difficult for one to reject a request!" That is the way it is.

The idea conceived by Lu Zhi is in the same nature as what the people said in later days: "One can not remain impartial by accepting food and drink or receiving gifts from others."

Even though the emperor gave a "green light" to Lu Zhi for practicing bribery, yet Lu Zhi insisted that bribery, no matter whether it is a small token or a valuable one, must be rejected without exception. He analyzed that if some gifts are accepted and the others are rejected, those whose gifts are rejected must be full of doubts and suspicions. Rejecting gifts without exception is the only way to stop bribery and to get rid of suspicion.

Of course, within the feudal ruling class, statesmen with foresight and sagacity such as Lu Zhi were only a few. Nowadays, all our cadres, who are servants of the people, must naturally be more upright, honest, and clean. In fact, there are more and more good cadres like that. However, still there are plenty of people who must feel ashamed in thinking of their ancestors, and more so in front of the people of today. It is hoped that the comrades who are still not able to comprehend the importance of checking the erroneous ideas at the outset, but regard accepting a pack of cigarettes or a bottle of wine as only a trifle, can think over the truth of "whips and shoes to be followed by gold and jade," and learn from Lu Zhi's principle of "rejecting without exception."

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CSO: 4005/964

PARTY AND STATE

PROVIDING GOOD WORKING CONDITIONS FOR INTELLECTUALS URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 82 p 3

[Article: "On the Need To Create Good Working Conditions for Intellectuals"]

[Text] We are greatly encouraged by the report that a number of intellectuals coming from bigger and medium-sized cities have taken root in Yuexi County in the Da Bie Shan [1129 0446 1472] area. The party's policies on intellectuals have been increasingly accepted and grasped by more and more basic organizations and cadres. It shows that our cause is full of promise!

It is appropriate to quote two lines from classical poetry to express the relationship between the party's policies and the intellectuals, which reads: "Fish are extremely fond of circling in the deep water; and birds think of returning to the dense forest." The poem has profoundly expounded the relationship between the deepness of the water and the happiness of fish, and that between the denseness of the forest and the return of birds. Only after the implementation of the party's policies can the intellectuals have ease of mind and wholeheartedly dedicate their own intelligence and wisdom to the country and the people. However, some of our comrades who are influenced by the "leftist" erroneous trend of thought and prejudice, are not able to understand and comprehend this truth even today. What they continue to do is to "drive out fish from a pool, and banish birds from a forest." They, purposely or not, make deep water shallow or even dry, or make a dense forest sparse or even deserted so that fish and birds no longer can stay and must move to another place to live. On this matter, they have failed to examine themselves through search of causes from such areas as the implementation of the party's policies on intellectuals and their own style of thinking and method of work, but instead, they sigh with regret over "brain drain" and complain that "intellectuals do not keep their minds on their work."

"Flying birds feel attached to their old forest." Under ordinary conditions, fish and birds are not willing to be away from the mountains and waters with which they are familiar. The situation of the intellectuals of the Yuexi County public health departments demonstrates a very good proof of this. The overwhelming majority of the technical backbone who are among the

intellectuals are from such large cities as Shanghai, Hangzhou and Heifei. As far as research conditions and living environment are concerned, there is no doubt that these cities are much better than the mountainous and forest-covered Da Bie Shan area. However, when they are bathed in the sunshine of the party's policies and conscientiously feel that they themselves are the masters and not the "outsiders" of this mountainous area, where there are enterprises for them to devote themselves to, leaders taking enthusiastic and loving care of them and in support of their work, and the masses who are badly in need of them and wholeheartedly welcome them, they will be glad to endure the bitter life in this mountainous area and to conscientiously and willingly take root in Yuexi forever.

The overwhelming majority of intellectuals in our country are like the comrades in Yuexi County. They ardently love their motherland, their people and their career. They have high aspirations and ambitions, take the interests of the whole into account and have the cardinal principles in mind. They are willing to give up the comparatively more affluent material life to move to outlying districts, high and cold mountainous areas north of the Great Wall and the desert to experience a hard life. What counts is whether we can conscientiously implement the party's policies on intellectuals, and can correctly handle the relationship between the party and the intellectuals. So long as we have full confidence in politics and realistically treat them as one of us, go all out to place them in work enabling them to put their ability to good use and give full play to their professional knowledge, take good care of their life and help them solve their difficulties which must and can be solved, they will feel relieved and be able to do an excellent job at their respective posts in order to wholeheartedly make contributions to the four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/964

PARTY AND STATE

REPORTS ON BROADCAST BUREAU CHIEFS CONFERENCE

Sichuan Holds Conference

HK090341 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 7 Jul 82

[Text] A conference of broadcasting bureau chiefs of the whole province was held from 29 June to 3 July. Centering on the instructions issued by the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee and the suggestions on strengthening ideological and political work in the rural areas put forward at the work conference of the provincial party committee, the conference emphatically studied the problems of improving running of rural wired broadcasting networks, upgrading its service, perfecting the service measures and promoting the construction of two civilizations in the rural areas.

Nie Ronggui, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and Liu Haiquan, vice provincial governor, attended the conference and delivered speeches. They demanded that the party and government leaders at various levels strengthen work of broadcasts and television, so as to bring into full play their role as modern means of propaganda and education.

Not long ago, the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee pointed out that broadcasts and television are the most powerful modern means to inspire and educate the whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities of the whole country in building socialist material and spiritual civilization. Since the institution of various production responsibility systems in the countryside, the leaders at various levels have utilized the special features of a strong local nature, wide connections and fast transmission in wired broadcasts to further strengthen education and management of the peasants. The peasants and the cadres at the basic levels in the countryside have, through broadcasts, better understood the party's rural policy and learnt knowledge of scientific farming and developing household sideline production. Programs such as "Local News," "Agricultural Science and Technology," "Scientific Farming," "Adviser to Peasants," "Talks on Policy" and "New Morality," which were initiated by the local broadcasting stations, have been warmly welcomed by the peasants. Loudspeakers for the wired broadcasts have been praised as propagandists of the party's policies, reporters of news and policies, advocates of new morality, instructors of science and technology, forecasters of weather and good performers of singing and drama.

Centering on upgrading the quality of service and perfecting the service measures, the conference called on the staff and workers engaging in broadcasting and television work in the whole province to do more effective work and further improve running of rural wired broadcasting networks. First, it is necessary to firmly grasp broadcast propaganda and turn the rural broadcasting networks, which are centered on the county broadcasting stations and based on the commune stations, into centers of news and public opinions of all the counties, as well as into ways of strengthening ideological and political work, popularizing scientific and cultural knowledge and providing cultural enjoyment and entertainment, thus bringing into full play its role in strengthening rural ideological and political work. Second, in order to straighten out rural wired broadcasting networks, emphasis should be placed on the renovation of the existing equipment.

Attending the conference were broadcasting bureau chiefs from the provincial, prefectural, autonomous prefectural, city and county levels, as well as directors of radio factories. Leading comrades of the party committees and government from Pengxi County, Lixian County, Jiangjin County and Renshou County were invited to attend the conference, at which they introduced experiences in strengthening the leadership and improving the rural broadcasting networks.

Sichuan Radio on Conference

HK090355 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 7 Jul 82

[Radio commentary: "Be Resolved to Run Rural Wired Broadcasting Well"]

[Text] The work conference held recently by the provincial party committee pointed out that in order to strengthen ideological and political work in rural areas and do a good job in building socialist material and spiritual civilizations, it is necessary to bring into full play the roles of various propaganda media, and especially to earnestly improve the rural wired broadcasts. This is an important measure to meet the requirements of rural work and to accord with the cherished desire of the peasants under the new situation. In order to strengthen ideological and political work, we must not only have a clear guiding ideology and suitable working method but also need a powerful propaganda means. Facts in various places have shown that of all the propaganda means in the rural areas, the rural wired broadcasting network is the modern instrument which accords with the desire of the people and the national condition as well as with the new situation of changes since practicing responsibility systems. It is an important channel through which the party and the government show their concern for the peasants, and contact and educate them.

Since the founding of the PRC, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council have adopted a consistent attitude toward the development of the rural wired broadcasting networks. They are very much concerned about the problem of 800 million peasants listening to broadcasts. Not long ago, leading comrades of the party Central Committee clearly pointed out that efforts should be concentrated on popularizing broadcasting and efforts should be made to ensure that broadcasts can be received in every county,

every commune, every production brigade and even every household. The national forum on rural propaganda work held by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee demanded that the wired broadcasts be run well and be assigned first place in all the rural propaganda media. In the minutes of the propaganda work conference of the provincial party committee, the importance and the urgency of doing a good job in rural wired broadcasts were particularly discussed and specific demands were set.

Can the rural wired broadcasting network fulfill the task of education and propaganda in strengthening rural ideological and political work and building the two civilizations? The answer is affirmative. With the county broadcasting station as its center and the commune amplifying stations as its basis, it connects the communes and brigades and reaches every household. Closely linked with the party and government organizations in the rural areas, it provides as powerful propaganda means for the county and the commune.

At present, with the establishment of wired broadcasting networks in 207 counties and urban districts in the whole province, and establishment of broadcasting amplifying stations in [word indistinct] communes and broadcasting loudspeakers installed in about 10 million households, it is possible to bring into full play its role as a means of propaganda and education.

Now, the leaders of the party and government of all counties and communes must further do a good job in utilizing the broadcasts and the peasants must further listen to broadcasts. Practice has proved the unique features and superiority of the rural wired broadcasting networks. First, with strong localism and a local nature, it can be used by the leaders of the party and government of the county and commune and the departments concerned. Second, it can not only relay the important programs of the central and provincial broadcasting stations, but also can produce its own programs full of local and nationality characteristics closely connected with the local realities and broadly connected with the local masses. Third, as the transmission [word indistinct] and reception range can be controlled, it is of high secrecy and can be used both for open propaganda, and internal education. Fourth, it can provide various kinds of social services, such as the forecast of floods and earthquakes, command the work of disaster relief, issue announcements and notices, offer information on marketing and advertising, refute rumors, and carry out [words indistinct] propaganda.

For a prolonged period in the future, even when everyone has radio and television sets, the rural wired broadcasts will still be an important form of rural propaganda work. Therefore, the rural wired broadcasts should not be weakened but strengthened. They should not be reduced but expanded.

In order to do a good job in the rural wired broadcasts, the key lies in the leadership and the importance attached to it by the leading organizations at various levels. Also it needs the support of the departments concerned. The staff and workers on the broadcasting front must, following the instructions issued by the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee on upgrading the quality of the service and perfecting the measure of

service, do their utmost to do well in producing journalistic, educational, instructional, cultural, and service programs on the one hand, and conduct reorganization, consolidation and improvement in the rural broadcasting networks on the other. Meanwhile it is necessary to seize the opportunity to draw up lessons and sum up experiences so as to continuously raise the management standard in broadcasting work and implement and improve the responsibility system in broadcasting management, to bring into full play its economic and propaganda effects.

CSO: 4005/1107

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON TEACHING WITH LITERATURE, ART

HK010641 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jun 82 p 5

[Commentator's article: "Literature and Art Should Educate the People With Communist Ideology"]

[Text] At the recently convened second plenary session of the fourth committee of the China Federation of Literature and Art Circles, the comrades enthusiastically responded to the party's call that literature and art should educate the people with communist ideology. This is indeed a very important problem that all literary and art workers should pay attention to.

As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world." ("On Practice") This is also true for literature and art which is related to ideology. Our literature and art should not only correctly reflect social life, but should also go back into social life and play its tremendous role in influencing and reforming life. This means that it should use vivid and moving artistic images to truly reflect the rich social life, the essence of the various social relations among the people, the demand of the progressing times and the trend of historical development, and moreover, that it should strive to educate the people in socialist and communist ideology and fill them with strength and encourage them to conscientiously forge ahead and strive to make our country prosperous.

Why do we stress that socialist literature and art should educate the people in communist ideology? This is determined by the goal of strife of the revolution led by our party and determined by the nature of socialist literature and art. Our party's ultimate goal is to realize communism all over the world. The communist movement that our party is leading and all our party members are taking part in is no longer a communist movement in its general sense but is the communist movement that has entered socialism--the initial stage of communism. At the present stage, our policies are still socialist in nature, but in regard to our propaganda policy, we should carry out education in communism, encourage communist virtues and establish communist ideals in the minds of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and first of all in the minds of the party members and the cadres.

In this, we are proceeding from the goal of our revolution and from the party's needs. On the other hand, judging by the nature of socialist literature and art, it should serve the people and serve socialism. Educating the people in communist ideology is precisely an important task for literature and art to serve the people. It is also an important aspect of giving play to literature and art's role of cognition and education. Therefore, this is the glorious duty of the party's literature and art workers.

It is of urgent practical significance that we put forth the idea at present that we should use literature and art to educate the people with communist ideology. The decade of turmoil that was brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has left our country in a terrible state. As a result, the images of socialism and the party have suffered great damage and the people's ideology and morality has also been corrupted to varying degrees. Under such circumstances, some of the young people who have not received much education in Marxism and who do not understand much of the history of struggle of our party and state, have begun to waver in their belief in the prospects and the ideological system of communism because they have been some difficulties and problems. Furthermore, because of our opening up to the outside world, the corruption of capitalist ideology has been reflected in the minds of a small number of party members and cadres and this has confused their thinking. This confused state of mind has also been reflected in some of our literary and art works. For example, there are a few literary and art works that are not propagating communist ideology, but are propagating capitalist ideology and bourgeois out-and-out egoism and selfishness and are even propagating erroneous ideological trends such as the trend that encourages people to be converted to some religions. This warrants our attention. It reminds us by its negative factor that we must clearly declare that our banner is communism and that we must educate the people with communist ideology. We should carry out political and ideological education and education of spiritual civilization including educating people through the influence of literature and art in order to make all our party members and the people of all nationalities throughout the country become people who have established an ideal in their minds, who are virtuous and educated, who observe discipline and who understand that during the new historical period, they must continue to maintain their lofty confidence in the revolution and a high revolutionary morale and they must carry out the great socialist revolution and the socialist construction right through to the end.

In using literature and art to educate people with communist ideology, we must achieve this aim by literary and artistic means. What distinguishes literature and art from philosophy, history, law, ethics and other forms of ideology, is that literature and art should use vivid artistic images to let people enjoy beauty and thus educate people by exerting an imperceptible influence on their thinking. This means that by stressing that literature and art should educate the people with communist ideology, we require that our writers and artists should, under the guidance of communist ideology, use the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods to observe, evaluate and reflect life, make efforts to discover the advanced socialist and communist

things in life and extol the socialist and communist mental attitude, aspirations and virtues that have been found among the masses of the people. In propagating the advanced things and ideology in literary and art works, our literary and art workers must use literary and art means and they should not try to achieve this by means of rigidly thrusting a few slogans into their works or making the characters in their works--as was criticized by Marx--"simple mouthpieces that parrot the spirit of [word indistinct]."

Our country has already entered a great new historical period and new things and new people with communist ideology and quality are constantly emerging. In order to use their literary and art works to educate the people with communist ideology, our writers and artists should first go among the masses to learn from the people. Therefore, we should continue to stress going deep into life to collect materials for literary and art creation among the masses of the people and to understand what the masses of the people want. Only by so doing can we truly and effectively educate the masses of the people with communist ideology.

CSO: 4005/1110

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

SHAANXI MEETING ON RATS--The Provincial CCP Committee and government held a telephone conference on 15 July, demanding that the people throughout the province immediately take action to launch a large-scale drive to exterminate rats. Vice Governor Bai Jinian presided at the meeting. (Yu Ming), member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial CCP Committee, made a speech. He called on leading cadres to realize the urgency and importance of this drive and personally take the lead in it. All propaganda media must be used to mobilize the masses. Care must be taken to prevent poisoning of people and livestock. [HK191117 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 16 Jul 82]

OFFICIAL ON TYPES OF CIVILIZATIONS--(A Ming), deputy secretary of the Ju Ud League CCP Committee, made a statement entitled: "It is necessary to establish the guiding ideology of developing spiritual and material civilizations simultaneously." He said: Spiritual and material civilizations should go together and not be separated. During the first national civility and courtesy month campaign, CCP Committees at all levels throughout the Ju Ud League conscientiously responded to the call of the party Central Committee and paid great attention to building spiritual civilization, with stress on ideology, morality and education. As a result, the revolution spirit of many cadres and the masses has been further mobilized. Industrial and agricultural production has been promoted. Various economic construction items have been accelerated. In the January-April period this year, the league industrial output value totalled 201.59 million yuan, 28.8 percent of the annual target and an increase of more than 10 percent over the corresponding 1981 period. At the same time, industrial departments throughout the league netted 5.84 million yuan of profits, 33.45 percent of the annual plan and an increase of 50 percent over the corresponding 1981 period. [Summary] [SK150819 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Jul 82]

WANG ENMAO ATTENDS XINJIANG CEREMONY--A ceremony to begin work on the Xinjiang woolen textile mill was held at Changji on 14 July. This will be the biggest such enterprise in the region. Responsible comrades of the party and government in the region, the Urumqi PLA units and the Xinjiang production and construction corps including Wang Enmao, Xiao Quanfu, Tomur Dawamat, Qi Guo, and Codanoff attended the ceremony. Equipment of the new mill will all be made in China. The project will be built in two stages, the first being completed in 1985. When the whole project is

completed it will be able to process over 40 percent of Xinjiang's annual wool output and turn out a wide range of products popular among the masses. Comrades Wang Enmao and Qi Guo spoke at the ceremony. They both wished the project success. [Summary] [HK170131 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 15 Jul 82]

HUNAN CYL CONGRESS CONCLUDES--The Hunan Provincial CYL Congress which concluded on 17 July elected by secret ballot 88 delegates to attend the 11th National CYL Congress. The congress also studied and made arrangements for further conducting education for the young people of the province in loving the party, the motherland and socialism. The congress was attended by 360 delegates. [Text] [HK180412 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 17 Jul 82]

YUNNAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS WORK--From 17 to 21 June, the Yunnan provincial forum on the work of the People's Congress Standing Committees of the autonomous prefectures and municipalities and some counties was held in Kunming. Responsible persons of the People's Congress Standing Committees of 24 counties and 17 prefectures, autonomous prefectures and municipalities and the liaison groups concerning the work of people's congresses attended. According to statistics, at present, 126 of the 131 counties, municipalities, districts and townships throughout the province have set up people's congress standing committees. Of the 17 prefectures, autonomous prefectures and municipalities, five autonomous prefectures and two municipalities under the jurisdiction of the provincial government have established people's congress standing committees and seven prefectures have set up liaison groups concerning the work of people's congresses. Sun Yuting, Zhang Zizhai, (Yan Yiquan) and (Li Guiying), vice chairmen of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, attended and spoke at the conclusion of the forum. [HK250713 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Jun 82]

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIU BAIYU ON LITERATURE ON MILITARY THEMES

HK151250 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No 6, 7 Jun 82 pp 12-23

[Article by Liu Baiyu [0941 4101 5038]: "Strive to Develop Socialist Military Literature During the New Historical Period of Our Country-- Speech Delivered to the Forum on Literary Creation on Military Themes"]

[Text] Editor's note: From 19-28 April the Chinese Writers Association and the Culture Department of the PLA General Political Department jointly sponsored a forum on literary creation on military themes in Beijing. Middle-aged and young writers inside and outside the army, totaling 148, attended the forum. Being the largest special meeting to discuss literary creation on military themes, this forum was of especially great significance. Zhang Guangnian, vice chairman of the Chinese Writers Association, presided over the forum. At the forum, Feng Mu, vice chairman of the Chinese Writers Association, read a written speech by Ba Jin, chairman of the Chinese Writers Association, and Liu Baiyu, director of the Culture Department of the PLA General Political Department, gave a lengthy speech. During the forum, Hu Qiaomu, secretary of the CCP Central Secretariat, gave a speech, giving his important opinions on the great significance and practical role of literary creation on military themes and on a few problems related to literary creation. Zhou Yang, adviser to CCP Central Propaganda Department and chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and art circles, and Hua Nan, deputy director of the PLA General Political Department, also gave speeches at the forum. The forum was held in a lively and harmonious atmosphere. It was a forum of unity and a mobilization meeting; it was also a meeting to launch the march toward the prosperity of literary creation on military themes. Following, we publish the full text of Comrade Liu Baiyu's speech. [End editorial note]

This is the first time since the founding of the PRC that a forum on literary creation on military themes is jointly sponsored by the Chinese Writers Association and the Culture Department of the PLA General Political Department. The holding of this forum during the new historical period will not only promote literary creation on military themes, but will also contribute to the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. So many writers have been invited from all over the country and from the whole PLA to attend the forum to focus together on discussing and probing into ways to further develop the literary creation on military themes that this greatly encourages literature and art workers and the broad ranks

of commanders and fighters throughout the PLA. I express, on behalf of the Culture Department of the PLA General Political Department, our hearty appreciation to all the comrades who are attending this forum.

I entirely agree with the speech we have just heard by Comrade Ba Jin on behalf of the Chinese Writers Association.

The preparatory group for this forum wanted me to give a speech at this forum. However, many comrades who are present at the forum have more experience in life during war and richer experience in literary creation. It is, therefore, not appropriate and beyond my abilities to give a speech. I first must state that my speech only serves as a commonplace introduction so that others may present valuable opinions. If there is anything wrong in my speech, I welcome criticism from the comrades.

In this speech, I wish to exchange opinions with my comrades on the following questions:

First, the Great Significance of the Development of Literary Creation on Military Themes

The question this forum should first discuss is why we should attach importance to and encourage literary creation on military themes.

Today, our country has already entered a new historical period. The construction of a highly democratic and highly civilized powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology will for a fairly long time to come be the goal of struggle for the whole party, the whole PLA and the people throughout our country. In order to realize this magnificent goal, our party calls on writers and artists to play a powerful role through their works in building up socialist spiritual civilization and in training socialist new people.

In the congratulatory speech that Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave on behalf of CCP Central Committee at the Fourth Writers and Artists Congress, he raised the task of vigorously training socialist new people and pointed out that literature and art was shouldered with the tremendous responsibility of raising the ideological, cultural and moral level of the society--a responsibility that can be shouldered by no other departments. He said: "Our literature and art work should fully express the fine quality of our people and praise the great victories that the people have achieved in their revolution and construction and in their struggle against various enemies and against various difficulties." "Our literature and art should make greater efforts and strive to achieve even greater results in depicting and training socialist new people."

During the past few years, Comrade Hu Yaobang has time and again linked literary creation on military themes with the construction of socialist spiritual civilization and the training of socialist new people.

Comrade Yaobang said that we should carry out education in patriotism to teach the people to defend the motherland and the four modernizations... this is a task of the nature of policy decision and orientation in our propaganda work. Comrade Yaobang has also time and again told the responsible comrades of the PLA General Political Department that they should tell the "August 1st" studio to produce more films that are magnificently conceived, and tremendously imposing and inspiring. He said that we fought for decades in wars and have themes for such films. In February 1980, Comrade Yaobang spoke at the playwriting forum and said the following on the question of "how to regard our PLA": "The army of ours has two characteristics: first, it is an army that is formed by the most beloved people who since the founding of the army in 1927, have for decades braved forests of guns and rains of bullets and risked all kinds of danger. Without them, the Chinese people would not have had the glorious history of the revolution and victories. Our history of revolution cannot be separated from the PLA. Second, we mainly rely on them in defending the realization of the four modernizations. Therefore, they are the most reliable people. First, they are most beloved and second, they are most reliable. They must have their important position in our propaganda work and in our literature and art works.

From the above-mentioned directives of the party central leading comrades, we can clearly see that by repeatedly stressing the satisfactory grasping of literary creation on military themes the party has attached great importance to literary creation on military themes and regards using literary works on military themes to carry out education in patriotism as a task of the nature of policy decision and of the nature of orientation. However, we should admit that during the past few years, we have not attached sufficiently great importance to this fundamental principle. I hope that we will review the spirit of the CCP Central Committee's directives at this forum and thus really pay attention to literary creation on military themes.

The sacred historical task of building up socialist spiritual civilization and training socialist new people should be undertaken jointly by all sectors of the superstructure, including the entire socialist literature and art. However, literary works on military themes have their unique strength and their educational role that cannot be replaced by works on other themes. The main content of literature on military themes of the revolution in our country is the description of the armed struggle of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people against aggression and for liberation, patriotism and revolutionary heroism and is often concentratively and intensely embodied in the military struggles and among the armymen and the masses of people who have taken part in and supported the wars. The history of the growth of the CCP into a powerful party cannot be separated from armed struggle. Even during the period of the socialist construction, we still need the magic weapon of armed struggle and we must make our people understand this historical experience. Literature on military themes, especially literary works that depict the heated fighting in revolutionary wars can often best express the heroism of the Chinese nation and the fine quality of the Chinese people and thus vigorously inspire the

readers. Because fine literary works on military themes describe the fierce struggles that were critical to the destiny of the classes, the people, the state and the nation; because they extol the spirit of devotion of the revolutionary fighters for the motherland and for the noble ideal of communism and because they deeply expose the cruelty of the aggressors and of the dark ruling force, their role in fostering patriotism and revolutionary heroism cannot be replaced by works on other themes.

Our army is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Because of the characteristics of armed struggle in the Chinese revolution and because of the leadership of the CCP, our army has evolved its own fine traditions. These traditions have taken shape on the basis of communist ideology and are the concentrative expression of the proletarian nature of the armed forces led by our party. They are the distillation of the diligence and courage of the children of the Chinese nation and a tremendously great spiritual treasure of the Chinese people. The revolutionary spirit and noble virtues of fearing neither death nor hardship and of uniting as one and advancing wave upon wave that our army displayed during war, still have a tremendous momentum in educating and inspiring the armymen and people of today. They are not only still of especially great realistic significance in heightening the combat effectiveness of our troops and the sense of being prepared for war among our whole nation and in increasing the unity between the army and the people, but are also very much needed in carrying out the four modernizations program at present. On all the fronts of the four modernizations, there will be difficulties and dangerous obstacles and also severe tests. Therefore, the heroism and despising difficulties and the spirit of devotion in the interests of the people and for the future of the motherland remains indispensable. A good piece of literary work on military themes is a "textbook in life" in carrying out education in patrioism, heroism and communist ideology and is something that cannot be spared for the broad masses of the people especially for the broad masses of youths.

What we should especially not forget is that we are carrying out our four modernizations program under an international situation in which threats of war exist. We hope that we will have more time for the construction of our country, but we should not forget to study ways to defend our country should aggressors force a war on us. At present, the superpowers in the world are contending increasingly sharply and the hegemonists are speeding up their global strategic deployment and gravely menacing world peace and the security of our country. The Vietnamese authorities have been continuously carrying out armed provocations along the southern borders of our country; the firing of guns has never stopped there. We must maintain high vigilance and make all the broad ranks of fighters and commanders of our army and the broad masses of our people and youths think about possible future wars of antiaggression and thus be mentally prepared for war. We should teach our people to understand that a revolutionary war is magnificent and grand and we should not spread a feeling of war-weariness. Of course, while opposing the description of the terror of war, we should also tell the people that we should not in any way be apprehensive of the war intimidation of the imperialists and the social imperialists. We should

have indomitable confidence in achieving victory in a just war. The vivid artistic images that are created in literary works on military themes can educate and influence the broad readers, make them prepared for danger in times of peace and give rise to the sense of responsibility of being always prepared to fight bravely for the interests of the motherland and the people and the moral idea of not being apprehensive of difficulties, hardships, shedding blood or death. This sense of responsibility and this moral idea should be fostered in peace time.

Excellent literary works on military themes can help the younger generations to acquire a correct world outlook and correct outlooks on life and war and foster them into a generation of socialist new people who have the noble spirit of internationalism, patriotism and heroism. If our hundreds of millions youths are all people of such fine quality, at their posts of the four modernizations in peace time, they will bravely take the lead in working wonders and thus become a shock force in building a powerful socialist country. Moreover, once a war does break out, they will unitedly and confidently become brave fighters, plunging into combat and wiping out the enemy like the furious waves of the sea flooding the shore. In short, whether in the face of difficulties and hardships or in the face of life and death combat, as long as the communist ideal is burning like fire, it will play its inexhaustible combat role.

In the literary history of all the countries in the world, military literature has always held an important position. We can even say that the childhood of human literature was a literature of war. Homer's war epics in ancient Greece were called by the revolutionary teacher Marx the "soil and embryo of Greek art." The classic novels of our country would lose a great deal of their luster if the epic works such as the "Three Kingdoms" and the "Water Margin" were not included. The revolutionary military literature in our country is of long standing and well-established. Since the Yanan forum on literature and art, it has further developed on a large scale and in a prosperous manner. As a result, a large number of excellent military literary works have emerged. For example, the "Story of the Heroes on the Luliang Mountains," the "Story of the New Young Heroes," "Metal Bucket of an Anti-Japanese Hero," "Chronicles of the Baiyanding Lake," "Who Are the Most Beloved People," "3,000 Li of Territories," "Railway Guerrilla Forces," "Raging Fire on the Plain," "Wild Fire, Spring Breeze and Struggle Within an Ancient City," "Bitter Rape Flower," "Riverside at Dawn," "Party Membership Dues," "Defend Yanan," "Red Sun," "Sea of Forest and Plain of Snow," "A Real Soldier," "Forever Forge Ahead," "East," "War of Yesterday," "Story of Lei Feng," "Song of Lei Feng," "Song of Ouyang Hai," "A Night Along the Xiangjiang River," "Commander of Our Army," "Anecdotes on the East Front," "'Soldier' in the Depth of the Tianshan Mountains," "In the Burning Battlefield," and "Multicolored Night." These literary works have added luster to the modern history of China's literature. The recently-published novel "East" by Wei Wei has achieved heartening merits both in the magnificent scale of war it describes and in its perfect skill of artistic description. I should say that this novel has made a breakthrough in our current literary creation on military themes.

There are rich resources for literary creation on military themes and unique favorable conditions for developing military literature in our country. Ours is a country with a long history and many nationalities. For thousands of years, countless large-scale just wars against dark rule and foreign aggression have taken place. The wars led by the CCP, such as the revolutionary civil wars, the war of resistance against Japan and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea were even more magnificent and admirable and earth-shaking. In terms of the lofty goals of these wars, the nature of the army that conducted these wars and the military thinking that guided them, these wars cannot be compared to any other wars--ancient or modern, Chinese or foreign. These wars were carried out over a vast area, involved an enormous number of people, were diversified in form and prolonged in duration. The 20,000 li-long march was unprecedented, the people's war spread like fire, and the generals who have undergone prolonged tests shine bright like stars in the sky and the number of the heroes whose deeds move people to song and tears is uncountable. Describing these military struggles that have shocked the country and the world, extolling this matchless army and propagating the Marxist outlook on war and Mao Zedong Thought is the historical duty of the writers and artists in our country.

A war is severe and cruel, but it is also rich in content, including the scenes of forests of guns, rains of bullets, living in the open, planning at headquarters, temporary separation, parting in death, victory, setbacks, excited hurrahs of victory and deep grief. In war, magnificent scenes and deeds of the noblest virtues come forth. Through concentration, synthesis and typification of this content of war, we can write stirring literary works. Today, the PLA has gathered millions of ardent youths to strive bravely in defending and building up the four modernizations. The actual lives of our troops now vary in thousands of ways and are not mechanical or stagnant as some comrades imagine. The lives of the troops do not merely consist of the usual daily routine training and are not isolated from social life. On the contrary, the lives of the troops are seething with excitement. In peace time, the struggle with or without blood is always being carried out. The battle against armed provocation and aggression and in defense of our territorial integrity and our national sovereignty and dignity on the front at Faka Mountain and Koulin Mountain was extremely fierce. Our army remains as always in the front ranks of the struggle against corruption, a major reflection of the class struggle at present. In the border and coastal areas, our army is carrying out very intense and complicated struggle against enemy spies and against criminal activities in the economic field. Last year, when floods caused disasters in Sichuan and other provinces and regions, the commanders and fighters bravely fought the floods without fear of death or difficulties. Some of them gave their precious lives in protecting the lives of the masses of people and the property of the state. The military maneuver in north China last year was a strict test of the military and political quality of our troops. All of us can see from this maneuver that our army has indeed made heartening progress and that the PLA is indeed a steel long wall defending the socialist motherland. The change in our army today and the new things, new contradictions, the new people and new deeds which have emerged in the struggle should all be included in our writers' field of vision.

There are abundant resources for literary creation on military themes in our country. However, so far our writers have only used a small part of these resources. We should continuously expand the field from which our writers draw materials to write on military themes and we should vigorously encourage the writers to describe the actual lives of struggle of the troops at present and also strive to reflect the revolutionary wars led by our party in their writing. Among the works that reflect military life, we should not only have short pieces that deeply reflect specific aspects of war, but also lengthy ones that directly depict the overall features of war. If the writers who engage in literary creation on military themes throughout the country and the army are all mobilized and united to plunge into the torrent of the life of struggle and into the work of literary creation on military themes, we believe that our literature on military themes will soon prosper and many excellent works will emerge and shine like bright stars in the sky.

Our country should propagate revolutionary heroism. Our vigorous encouragement of literary creation on military themes is primarily aimed at using revolutionary heroism to foster socialist new people. This is our chief aim in encouraging literary creation on military themes.

Second, Vigorously Raise the Level of Literary Creation on Military Themes in the New Historical Period

After stressing the importance of literary creation on military themes in building socialist spiritual civilization and in fostering socialist new people, we should study the problem of how to develop socialist literature on military themes later during the new historical period. In my opinion, we are faced with the following very urgent task: We should vigorously and relatively quickly raise the quality of literary works on military themes and write works of high ideological and artistic value. This is of key importance in order for literature on military themes to win the love of the broad readers and is also the major question that our forum is going to discuss.

Not long ago, we made an investigation in a battalion into the levels of education of its fighters. We found that of the 495 fighters there, 273, or 55 percent of the fighters, have received senior middle school education, 187, or 38 percent, have received junior middle school education and 35, or 7 percent, have received primary school education. Those who have attended middle schools constitute 93 percent of the battalion. This shows that compared with the army during the war periods in the past, today's army has undergone a tremendous change—it has already become an educated army. However, this new situation has raised new demands for us. The higher the level of education of the commanders and fighters, the greater their needs for spiritual food of a higher quality. Reading, enjoying and commenting on literature and art has already become an indispensable part of their lives. At the same time, a new generation of people have emerged on the front of literary creation on military themes. These people are both readers and writers. During the war of defensive counterattack against Vietnam in 1979 and the recent battles at Faka and Koulin mountains

the following kind of heroes emerged: A fighter wrote many short stories and poems among the flames of war. When he died, his blood soaked the manuscripts at his breast. This was Wei Janyong. Another martyr persisted in drawing sketches of battle scenes during the fierce fighting. The works by which he described the war have already become valuable items in the drawing exhibition of our army. This martyr's name was Yang Xia. The above-mentioned examples show that the new generation of people are already knocking at the door of literature and art of the new era.

Faced with the new characteristics of the objects of service and description, we should make a big breakthrough in raising the level of the literature on military themes to a much higher level than the present one. We should not be satisfied with our old practices or maintain the old conventions. The new generation of people are shining with the luster of the new spirit of the times which demands expression in our new literary works on military themes. We should rack our brains and be sure to make our works ideologically and artistically highly valuable and intensely inspiring and attractive. Here, I would like to put forth some of my uninformed opinions on certain problems related to literary creation among our troops and I hope my comrades will kindly give their opinions on these problems.

1. Description of people should be vivid and impressing.

Gorkiy said that "literature is a science about people." The description of people is the key issue of literature and art. However, in our actual creative practice, we often fail to achieve this. We often pay attention only to giving account of the incidents and their course but fail to make condensation and typification, and thus we cannot depict images of people that are of vivid character and deeply moving. This is precisely the comparatively outstanding problem facing our literary creation on military themes.

In my opinion, we should free ourselves from the old way of paying attention only to describing the course of a battle or a military action. The duty of a military historian is to record the course of a certain battle, but the duty of an artist is to describe people in an impressive manner in the background of battle. This means that an artist should focus on depicting typical characters in typical surroundings. The task of a writer is not only to reflect social life, but more importantly to promote the progress of society through his reflection of life. This requires that our literary works pay greater attention to reflecting the growing new force and depicting the image of the new people who represent the direction of progress of the times and who have communist ideological consciousness.

The images of heroes in the people's army is of particular significance. They serve as examples of the communist spirit and as examples of great wisdom and courage and of great merits. Therefore, they can directly rouse the readers to imitate the heroes as well as affect people with their imperceptible influence. Practice has proved that the images of the heroes in our literature and art have already become a tremendous spiritual

strength in the minds of the commanders and fighters of our army. We could find in the course of the growth of Lei Feng and Ouyang Hai a trace of this strength in the literary works they had read. During the war of defensive counterattack against Vietnam, there were very clear signs of the great role that the heroic images of Huang Jiguang and Dong Cunrui played in heightening morale. Many fighters were shouting the slogans of learning from the heroes when they charged the enemy lines and bravely fought the enemy.

War is a severe test for everyone. Each person's quality will be fully disclosed in a war. We can see the most glorious things in people's characters, the characters of a great nation, the fine traditions of this revolutionary army and the noblest and most beautiful human feelings that are latent in heroes. Comrade Zhou Enlai inscribed the following words in Lei Feng's honor: "A class stand of knowing clearly who to love and who to hate; a revolutionary spirit of being as good as his words; a communist virtue of forgetting his personal interests in serving the public interests; and a proletarian fighting will that defies personal danger." This virtue will be most clearly shown in a war. War provides the most favorable conditions for depicting people. If we not only write about the courses of battles and actions, but also grasp happiness in reunion, grief in parting, joy, anger, sadness and all the feelings that heroic people experience in war, grasp the uncommon actions originated from their specific characteristics, link the destiny of the characters in our works with the revolutionary war in our description and give expression to the diversified moods and noble minds, we will certainly stir the readers' hearts.

Of course, while stressing the depiction of heroic people, we should not overlook describing common people. We should not depict heroes in isolation from the millions of the masses of the people. Heroes are closely linked with the broad masses of people and like the broad masses of people, they have also undergone a course of growth and development. No hard and fast line can be drawn between heroes and common people. In our people's army, there are indeed hundreds and thousands of highly ideologically conscious and exemplary heroes and paragons, but there are also a larger number of common cadres and fighters who are loyally performing their duties without attracting public attention and who shine with their spiritual luster at their common posts. These "common people" whom we are referring to are in no way the petty and low "nonentities" as some people at home and abroad call them. On the contrary, they are the common soldiers in the great revolutionary struggle. The images of these common soldiers should also be extolled. They also shine with the luster of communist ideology in some basic aspects.

Let us look into what kind of people fought on the front at the Faka and Koulin mountains? They were common youths, most only 18 or 19 years old. However, it was precisely these people who achieved immortal merits in heated combat and created miracles. Some of the fighters who had sacrificed their lives still held the bodies of the enemy tightly in their arms and some of them still held their guns tightly in their hands. How shockingly stirring these sacred images are and how they have roused people's respect!

True, they were common and ordinary fighters, but at the same time, they were special and uncommon. Their common characteristic was their spiritual beauty. Just imagine, is there anything more noble, more precious, greater and more beautiful than the virtue of contributing one's blood and life to the motherland without hesitation? Will this spiritual beauty not strike a sympathetic chord among the people and stir their emotions?

Many experiences in depicting typical artistic images in our literature on military themes are worth summing up. During the initial period after liberation, in order to educate the troops and the masses of people in revolutionary traditions, we stressed that literary creation on military themes should strive to depict the heroes of the PLA. This brought about very good results at that time. However, later there emerged a simplified and absolute understanding of and demand for the depicting of the heroes of the PLA. This understanding and demand impeded the development of literary creation on military themes. Later, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques concocted a thesis of "basic task" and the series of antirealistic patterns that the heroes we depict must be "noble, great and united." During the past few years, we have criticized and refuted the thesis of "basic task" and achieved very satisfactory results. However, the view of "refraining from depicting heroes" has emerged. This view upholds that there are no heroes in life and therefore the demand that literary works should depict heroes is not based on life. Under the influence of the view of "abstract and permanent human nature" which regards the so-called "essence of the human being" as something without any social nature and observes and depicts life accordingly, there have emerged some politically wrong and unhealthy works. Some of the works describe our fighters' love for the highranking generals of the enemy, others describe the "benevolence" of the aggressors toward the Chinese people and still others describe revolutionaries as regarding love as being above everything.... Our revolutionary fighters become abstract human beings who have no revolutionary ideal and who cannot distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong. The number of these works is not large, but this erroneous tendency is startling. Indeed, literary works should escribe the feelings and psychology of the people. The questions are whether we admit that there are class natures in people; whether we admit that there are heroes in life; whether our writers should write more about socialist new people and the beautiful things in people's minds; whether they should extol noble love; and whether they should truly and profoundly depict the revolutionary fighters and the enemy. If we do not have a clear understanding or even have some confused understanding of these basic questions, it will be impossible for us to truly depict the various kinds of people in actual life in order to promote the progress of life. On the contrary, we will only make up a few "distorted images" and lead the readers astray by these images. Therefore, I think that a review of the various views on the question of describing heroes that have emerged since the founding of the PRC and a review of the results of the practice of these views is beneficial. It will help us to draw both positive and negative lessons.

2. We should deeply reflect contradictions and work out true and moving plots.

Everyone knows that plots are of great significance in literary works. Plots are the histories of the characters of the people depicted in literary works and are what we rely on in depicting these characters. Without skillfully developed plots, it will be very difficult to depict vivid typical artistic images and it will also be difficult to attract readers.

However, for many years many works of the writers in our army often have not been free from the primary forms of the real people and their actual deeds. Thus, these writers have been writing in a dull and flat style and have developed similar plots and wearied the readers to death. On the other hand, there are some literary works that are divorced from the reality of life and are not aimed at depicting people but at telling fantastic stories that have been fabricated out of abstract concepts. This is another outstanding problem that literary creation on military themes is faced with.

The contradictions and conflicts in the life of military struggle are the basis of the plots of the literary works on military themes. The vividness and richness of the plots of literary works on military themes is the concentrative reflection of the contradictions and conflicts in the life of military struggle. Without a doubt, the contradictions were fierce and complicated and the conflicts were shocking and earth-shaking during the revolutionary civil wars, the war of resistance against Japan and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea that we carried out under the leadership of the CCP. Even life in the army at present is full of contradictions and conflicts. The army is not isolated from society and the contradictions in society will inevitably be reflected in our army. In the course of the development of the construction of a modern and regular revolutionary army, new contradictions and conflicts will emerge along with every new thing, every success in new renovations and along with the emergence of every new quality. If only our writers proceed from actual life and carry out arduous work, they will be able to extract vivid stories from the numerous and complicated contradictions and will certainly be able to avoid the problems of similarity and vague generalization of their plots.

The working out of deep and moving plots depends on the writers' deep study of life and their efforts in finding the conflicts in the characters of the people they depict. Avoiding contradictions is often one of the reasons why the plots of works are dull and flat. The contradictions in times of wars are fierce and sharp. At present the real life in the army also contain many new contradictions, and the army is precisely making progress in the course of solving these contradictions. Things always exist in contrast and develop in conflicts. There would be no good things if there were no evil things and there would be no achievements if there were no conflicts. The contradictions within the troops can undoubtedly be described in the literary creation on military themes. If only a writer adopts a correct stand, attitude and method, truly reflects life and knows

well that in the conflicts between brightness and darkness, brightness is the principal aspect and that in the clashes between the advanced and the backward, the advanced is the principal aspect; he will be able to use his writing to promote the progress of life and the construction of the army. Writing on historical themes of revolutionary wars also involves the problem of reflecting the internal contradictions. However, a more prominent problem is the lack of depth in exposing the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves because of the use of the methods of drawing caricatures and because of the description of the enemy as being incapable and weak. Thus, we fail to vividly depict the images of the proletarian leaders and revolutionary heroes in sharp and fierce contradictions. Our enemies were true tigers as well as paper tigers. They were so fierce, tricky and formidable that they were not easy to conquer. We should be daring to write stories about our army when it was in an inferior position or even in a desperate position. In these stories, we should describe how, under the wonderful command of the wise leadership, with the indomitable struggle of the commanders and fighters and with the support of the people, our army pulled through and completely changed the situation. A war is full of twists and turns and full of magnificent climaxes. Therefore a piece of work that depicts a war should also be rich in contents and full of twists, turns and climaxes. Only by so doing can we make our works soul-stirring and stirringly attractive. Vissarion Belinsky said that a novel that lacks dramatic incidents is devoid of vitality and interest. These words were well said. Excessively seeking fantastic plots is undesirable, but a dull description of an originally spectacular life cannot touch the minds of the people, rouse them to think things over or strike a sympathetic chord in their hearts.

The process of refining the materials is also the process by which the writers find typical examples in the materials that they gather from life. In so doing, the writers should rely on the rich imagination that their abundant experience in life has given rise to. Our works often lack tricky and fresh artistic plots and the incidents in our works are not interesting. The reason for this often lies in the lack of artistic imagination. Only by thoroughly understanding life, becoming familiar with various people and things and mastering the relationships between various things can we discover the law that governs specific incidents and thus will we have plentiful associated ideas and images. By these associated ideas and images we will be able to make our themes typical in nature. The most important artistic skill of a writer is to be able to produce the kind of artistic images that highly epitomize life. This is what we should seek.

3. We should strive to raise the ideological quality of our literary works.

Literary works always convey some ideology, philosophy or the writer's aesthetic evaluation of life by means of artistic images. They use artistic charm to lead the readers into certain ideological realms. What revolutionary literary works convey is the revolutionary ideology and the revolutionary philosophy. This is aimed at making people feel the magnificence of the revolutionary cause and lead them into the lofty communist ideological realm.

Writers should deeply observe life and tell the readers their own particular opinions on life. A proletarian writer should use the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods to observe life and to form their own unique and profound opinions that shine with the luster of Marxist truth. These opinions are called by the people philosophical opinions. The philosophy that we uphold cannot be confused with idealism. We uphold that in order to raise the quality of literary creation on military themes, we should raise the ideological quality of our literary works. Because a writer's love, hatred, advocacy and opposition will inevitably be expressed in his works, we demand that our writers must have lofty communist ideals and integration as well as very high artistic accomplishments and the capacity of keen observation. That is why a writer must first of all be a revolutionary.

A writer should first strike sympathetic chords in and stir the feelings of the readers by his works. Only by so doing can he arouse the readers to think things over and make them understand life in a new and deeper manner. In an excellent literary work, the ideological realm the writer wants to convey is not mainly expressed in the comments of the writer between his narrations but in the development of plots and is disclosed through the description of the clashes between and the spiritual worlds of the characters. In other words, the philosophy should be revealed in a truly moving and natural manner through the description of characters and through the development of the plots. The philosophy that a theorist proves in special theoretical terms should be expressed by artists by means of images and by means of including theory and ideology in feelings. Only in this way can we stir the feelings of the readers. The deeper the feelings, the profounder the ideology expressed. Without perfect artistic form, it is impossible to express ideology. This is a problem that our comrades who engage in literary creation on military themes should pay attention to. Our literary works are not in any way a mere display of the flames of fighting, but they should, through this display, shine with the luster of ideology and truth. This is the soul of literary work.

It is very difficult to truly and stirringly express thoughts through characters and plots. Even in some universally acknowledged masterpieces, there are defects of lengthy comments between narrations, which the readers find hard to finish reading. Where a perfect literary masterpiece is superior is that from its beginning to end its philosophy is contained in the thoughts, feelings, destiny and experience of the characters. As a result, the readers are intoxicated in their enjoyment of a profound beauty and led into a lofty ideological realm.

What I call the beautiful and lofty ideological realm is the greatest love out of which the revolutionaries sacrifice their blood and lives for the communist cause. "Life is indeed precious and the price of love is even higher. However for the cause of freedom, we are willing to sacrifice both." This was the love of the forerunners of bourgeois democrats. The love of proletarian revolutionaries is to use their lives to realize the ideal of communism and to bring about benefits for the people and for the posterity. This loftiest revolutionary heroic love, this greatest love,

is precisely what socialist literature on military themes is seeking to express. Only by handling the raw materials gathered from life in wars and in the units in the light of the Marxist world outlook, the outlook on life and the outlook on war, can a writer reflect the spirit of the times, stir the revolutionary emotion of the readers and imperceptibly affect his readers with communist ideology.

4. The key to developing the socialist literature on military themes of our times is to go [?deep into] life and strive to bring forth new ideas and find new forms.

Proletarian literature on military themes is the reflection of the armed struggle of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat and its political party. This is undoubtedly a brand new literature, but it is not without its origin in history nor emerges from nowhere. We must strike our roots in the soil of actual life, critically inherit the legacy of Chinese classical military literature and oppose and abandon the nihilist attitude toward the legacy of national literature. We should assimilate the cream of our national art and our socialist literature on military themes and should also critically assimilate Chinese classical literature on military themes. For example, the precious artistic experience of the "Three Kingdoms" and "Water Margin" is invaluable wealth. No doubt, we can also learn something good from them for developing socialist literature on military themes, particularly their experience in depicting the artistic images of generals. Of course, there is dross in classical literary works on military themes, such as defying heroes and denying the strength of the masses of the people, which is diametrically different from revolutionary military literature. At the same time, we should critically assimilate foreign classical literature on military themes, such as "War and Peace," and "Spartacus." We should learn from them the vivid depiction of characters, the reflection of the broad scope of social life and the vivid description of battles.

Primarily, we must inherit the traditions of proletarian revolutionary literature. During the past few years, there have indeed emerged some phenomena of the abandonment of the traditions of proletarian revolutionary literature. For example, blind worship of bourgeois literature on war themes; opposing all wars without making distinction between just and unjust wars, propagating pacifism, confusing the demarcation line between the enemy and ourselves and advocating class compromise. This will inevitably and harmfully result in slackening and impairing the fighting will and morale of the people. We must oppose these phenomena. The development of proletarian revolutionary literature began 110 years ago when the "Internationale" was composed. During the 110 years, there have emerged excellent works, such as "Crush," "Iron Torrent," "Chabayev," and "The Making of a Hero." The revolutionary literary works on military themes in our country have already become an important part of the treasure of world proletarian revolutionary literature. These works display to the broad readers in the world the new ideology, the new world, the new people and the new art which are all permeated with the fighting spirit of the proletariat--revolutionary heroism under the guidance of communist ideology.

This is a progressive literature and a literature that encourages people to forge ahead and imbues them with ideal. Our socialist literature on military themes should inherit this tradition, otherwise it will not be able to fulfill the glorious task of using revolutionary heroism to foster socialist new people.

However, inheriting is not the end goal, and it is only aimed at blazing new trails. Since socialist literature on military themes is a new revolutionary literature, it should integrate, on the basis of critically inheriting the legacy, new ideas and new artistic means with actual life. Only by so doing can it blaze new trails.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our socialist motherland has undergone tremendously great changes in all aspects and our life has been making progress in big strides. This has put to us a new task of once more making a study to become familiar with life. Our army is being built into a modern regular revolutionary army. It will differ not only from our army in the 1950's but also from the one in the 1970's. There has not only been a tremendously great change in the members of the army, but the technical equipment of the army has also been improved. The contingent objects of war and the conditions of battles have also changed, and therefore, the tactics should also change accordingly. Our past tactics was using millet plus rifles, but our tactics at present and in the future should be combined operations of diversified kinds of forces. If we do not go deep into life and if we do not study and do not make ourselves familiar with this new situation, it will be impossible for us to correctly reflect the actual life in our army. Now, let us sum up our past experience. For a period in the past, we failed to encourage going deep into life. This cannot but be regarded as a shortcoming in our work. The going deep into life by our writers is the key to the solution of the problem of whether we can raise the quality of the literary creation on military themes at present. I am of the opinion that the essence of Mao Zedong literary and art thought is going deep into life and the combination of literary and art workers with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists." Today, only by going deep into the heat of the struggle of carrying out and defending the four modernizations and only by fusing our souls with the souls of the masses of the people can we feel the pulse and reflect the spirit of the times and write about new people and new deeds. The objects we depict and the readers of our works are all making rapid progress along the socialist avenue. If we do not go deep into life at once and rouse ourselves to catch up with them, how can we vividly depict them and how can our works be well accepted by them?

The study of Marxism is still an important task. As far back as in the 1940's, Comrade Mao Zedong raised the idea that, "It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of

Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted." Only by viewing life by the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods can we better understand the essence of life and only by applying the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods can we critically view the literary and art legacy, better extract its essence to serve the reflection of the new life and blaze new trails. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" that was approved by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee provides us the guideline for reflecting the history and reality of the struggle of our party and army and therefore, we should even more conscientiously study it. We should combine the study of Marxism-Leninism with going deep into life. Only by so doing can we always keep youthful spirit in our literary creation.

Inheritance is aimed at creation and study is aimed at finding new ideas and methods. The key to all these is whether we have rich experience of life. We should encourage diligent study on the basis of going deep into life, comprehensive reading, combining the study of art with the study of life, daring to practice in life and daring to practice literary creation in order to continuously improve our artistic skill through much practice.

Third, Strengthen Leadership Over Literary Creation on Military Themes

The development of socialist literature on military themes during the new period is a major issue that concerns the long-range interests of the whole nation. This is a very difficult and very heavy task. The fulfillment of this task can only be achieved through the arduous practice of the broad ranks of writers under the leadership of the party and with support from all sides.

First, we should regard the development of literature on military themes as a task that all literary circles should be concerned with and should not treat it as being only the task of the army. In fact, the cultural food for the cadres and fighters in our army today is not entirely provided by the army itself. In the war years, the level of education of our fighters was low and the demands of the commanders and fighters in our army for cultural life were relatively simple. This has changed greatly today. Now four films are shown to the armymen in the companies every month and radio broadcasts are listened to everyday. There are TV sets in most of the companies and watching TV is a common recreation. Many fighters buy books to read and subscribe to journals on their own. Often 70 to 80 kinds of journals are subscribed to by a company. The spiritual and cultural food for our broad ranks of commanders and fighters today comes mainly from the society and is supplied by all literary and art circles and press circles. This is how things stand for the broad readers and audience in the army, without even speaking of the readers and audience among the large number of youngsters in the society. Therefore, literary creation on military themes which is an important part of socialist literature and art must draw the concern and attention of all literary and art circles and all press circles. This is an important guarantee for the development of literary creation on military themes.

Our socialist literature and art should adhere to the four basic principles with a clear-cut stand and literary creation on military themes should, of course, be no exception and should also adhere to these principles. This is an issue related to the basic orientation. In carrying out the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization and capitalist corruption, the CCP Central Committee requires us to be firm and sober Marxist who are achievers. It requires that all the CCP members should firmly keep in their minds that serving the people is the basic aim of our party and firmly keep in their minds that the realization of the great long-range ideal of communism is the ultimate aim of our party and that all the CCP members should loyally fulfill the solemn oath that they gave when they were admitted into the party, and fight all their lives for communism. We must persist in carrying out the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy and speed up the socialist modernization of our country. We must persistently defend the purity of communism, carry out the struggle of opposing the corruption of bourgeois ideology by using proletarian ideology and forever maintain our party's nature as the vanguard of the proletariat. Using these requirements to unite our understanding and unify our actions is also of great significance in doing our literary and art work satisfactorily. Of course, stressing adhering to the four basic principles and adhering to the correct orientation is not in conflict with the emancipation of minds. By emancipation of minds, we mean integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts and freeing ourselves from the fetters of the previous old and rigid understanding. There is no denying that there are some old conventions and habits and some ideas of sticking to conventions that hinder the development of our literary creation on military themes. Sometimes some improper demands may be raised for our work and some people may roughly and arbitrarily interfere in our work. We encourage individual creativeness in literary creation and must ensure that, in carrying out literary creation, the writers are allowed a wide scope to develop their thinking, imagination, form and content. This is a law of literary and art creation. If we go against this law, our creation will wither away. In developing literary creation on military themes, only by acting in accordance to the requirements of the party for giving full play to the wisdom and abilities of every writer and for encouraging their creativeness can we make the literature on military themes prosper during the new historical period.

In order to develop literary creation on military themes, we should steadfastly implement the party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In order for our literature to adhere to the socialist orientation, we should strengthen and improve the party's leadership. One of the important methods for the party to exert its leadership over literature and art is to develop positive and healthy literary and art criticism. Therefore, in carrying out the double-hundred policy in the literary and art fields, we should advocate two freedoms--the freedom of creation and the freedom of criticism. Similarly, neither can the development of literary creation on military themes dispense with literary and art criticism. We should support and encourage good works and augment their influence and we should criticize bad works, pay attention to drawing proper lessons from their mistakes and keep these lessons in mind. Regarding those works that are mainly good but have

relatively great defects, we should criticize them fairly. We should not overlook their defects because they are mainly good, nor should we deny their merits because of their defects. Such literary and art criticism will not only benefit our writers, but will also facilitate the raising of the abilities of the broad ranks of readers in appreciating literary works. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "The primary method of struggle in the literary and art fields is literary and art criticism." It is a pity that as yet we have not done enough in consciously, frequently and skillfully using the weapon of literary and art criticism. Where we are weakest in our literary and art criticism is the research into, the evaluation of and the propagating of, literary creation on military themes. Up until today, we do not have a book of the history of the revolutionary military literature of our country. Moreover, the number of special theses on the evaluation of the writers who engage in literary creation on military themes and on the evaluation of the literary works on military themes, is very small. We have made inadequate study of how things stand in our literary creation on military themes at present. Our evaluation on the new writers and new works on military themes is neither prompt nor vigorous. As for the few literary works on military themes that contain unhealthy political sentiments and ignoble ideas, since the forum on problems on the ideological front, we have carried out some criticism against them and they have brought about an initial change in the depressing atmosphere of literary and art criticism. However, we have still a long way to go in creating a situation where there is the very lively, very healthy and very vigorous literary and art criticism hoped for by the party. If we do not thoroughly change this situation, it will be unfavorable to the prosperous development of socialist literature on military themes. I think that our critics, writers and comrades who are responsible for leading literary and art work should all make coordinated efforts to develop Marxist literary and art criticism and strive to spend 1, 2 or several years in carrying out persistent and arduous work in order to open up new prospects and do a good work of literary and art criticism.

In his speech at the Fourth Congress of Writers, Comrade Xiaoping mentioned that the party's leadership over literature and art is not issuing orders, but helping the literary and art workers to create conditions for producing excellent literary and art works in accordance with the special features and the law of development of literature and art. What are the conditions that are necessary for the production of excellent works? The attention of the leadership and correct criticism are both necessary conditions that facilitate the creation of excellent works. One of the important things we should do is adopt some measures to help writers and artists to widen their field of vision and raise their ideology. In order to correctly reflect the revolutionary wars in our country, we should study hard Mao Zedong military thinking. The book "Selected Military Writings of Mao Zedong" that we have given to every comrade who is attending this meeting is a collection of documents on Mao Zedong military thinking. We should also help writers and artists to understand the struggle on various fronts in our country, the tasks of our times, the problems we are faced with and the party's line, principles and policies. We should help them to gain deep impression and understanding from the actual life of the masses of people and thus enable them to have a strong desire for literary and art

creation. Of course, we should also help writers and artists to know about the world and draw on lessons from modern and ancient, foreign and Chinese literature and art. However, it is more important to study the party's line, principles and policies and to become familiar with the life of the masses of people in order to acquire deep understanding and thus turn the party's requirements into the conscious actions of our writers and artists.

Concerning the development of literary creation on military themes, we should like to put forth the following measures and suggestions to be considered by our comrades:

First, we should soundly go deep into life. This is one of the measures of decisive significance at present. After this forum we plan to invite some writers outside the army who are willing to write on military themes to come deep into the life in the army. The fact that a large number of writers outside the army have come deep into the life in the army will surely urge the writers inside the army to more satisfactorily and enduringly go deep into the army and into the basic levels. We hope this practice of going deep into life will become a common one.

Second, in order to make literary creation on military themes prosper, we should find outlets for publishing literary works on military themes. We should not only have some literary journals that mainly publish literary works on military themes, but we also hope that all the newspapers and journals in the country will allocate some space for publishing literary works on military themes. I think that the editorial department of every newspaper and literary journal would be willing to recommend to the readers, especially the young readers, excellent literary works on military themes that are permeated with patriotism and revolutionary heroism.

Third, in order to raise the quality of the literary works on military themes, we should periodically hold competitions to give awards to good literary works on military themes on the basis of developing literary and art criticism. Through these competitions, we can select excellent works, propagate them, give encouragement to good works and give special encouragement to particularly good works. We should encourage free competition and select the good works to be awarded. We should develop careful discussions and sum up experiences. In short, we should develop, among all our people, the practice of loving literary works on military themes and among our literary and art workers, develop the practice of paying attention to military themes. In our newspapers and journals and on our stages, screens and TV screens, there should be a larger number of excellent works on military themes. This is the demand of the people and the demand resulting from developing and defending the four modernizations and from the construction of socialism.

We hope that this forum will turn out to be a uniting meeting. We are confident that as long as we unite closely and coordinate in harmony toward our common goal, we will surely bring about a new situation in the near future when our literature on military themes is prosperously developing.

In the southern border areas of our motherland, there is a kind of flower, called a sun flower by the local people. This kind of flower has great vitality and after the shelling of the Vietnamese Army smashed our land, these flowers continued to bloom fully and beautifully on the broken land in the breeze. I hope that our literature on military themes will blossom in radiant splendor like sun flowers on the literary front of our socialist country.

My speech ends here.

CSO: 4005/1109

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN CENSUS TAKING URGED

Beijing RENKYOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 29 May 82 pp 2-5

[Article by Li Chengrui [2621 2052 3843], deputy director of the State Council Statistical Bureau: "The Main Contents and Characteristics of the third National Population Census"]

[Text] The State Council promulgated "Measures for the Third National Population Census" on 19 February 1982, and the party committees and governments at various levels throughout the country are mobilizing the broad masses of the people to strive for implementation of the "Measures." How then have the "Measures" been formulated? What are their main contents? What are their characteristics? All these are questions of interest to all. These questions are dealt with and discussed in this article.

(1) The "Measures for the Third National Population Census" have been formulated in accordance with the principle laid down by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, and on the basis of carrying out repeated experiments and soliciting opinions from the general public.

The CCP Central Committee and the State Council demand that the population figures of our country be thoroughly surveyed and some important conditions of regional distribution and social structure of our population be thoroughly investigated to collect reliable data for carrying out planned socialist modernizations, for making all-round arrangements of people's material and cultural life, and for formulating population policies and programs. To meet this demand, the current census has many items as compared with the first census and the second census on previous occasions, and processing of the vast amount of census data will be computerized.

On the basis of the above directive, the State Council Population Census Leading Group drafted "Measures (first draft) for the Third Population Census" early in 1980 and carried out experiments in accordance with this draft in Jiangsu Province's Wuxi Municipality and Wuxi County, with a population of 950,000. On the basis of the experience in Wuxi experiments and after deliberations at a meeting of directors of census offices from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, the first draft was revised in March 1981 and "Measures (second draft) for the Third Population Census" were produced. Between March and August 1981, 24 provinces, municipalities

and autonomous regions carried out experiments in accordance with the second draft. The experiments covered cities, rural areas, pastoral areas and minority areas with a total population of 2.2 million. In September 1981, the responsible persons of province, municipality and autonomous region population census offices were convened to revise the second draft and produce "Measures (third draft) for the Third National Census." These were three major revisions in addition to some 10 minor revisions. In the course of successive revisions, opinions of the Central Committee and the State Council departments were solicited on each occasion, and opinions of specialists and scholars at home and specialists from the United Nations were solicited on many occasions. The third draft was submitted to the State Council at the end of November 1981. On 1 February 1982, the State Council convened the "Conference on the Third National Population Census" attended by chiefs of population census leading groups from various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions' people's governments, at which the third draft was discussed and revised, and the final text of "Measures for the Third National Population Census" was determined and was promulgated on 19 February for enforcement.

(2) The text of "Measures for the Third National Population Census" has 28 articles, setting forth clear-cut provisions concerning organizational leadership, objects of the census, time and space standards of the census, quality check on the census, and data processing and announcement.

Concerning leadership in population census-taking. The "Measures" provide: "Population census-taking is to proceed under the leadership of the State Council and the people's governments at various levels." It is stipulated at the same time that population census organizations are to be set up at the central, provincial, prefectural and county levels and in communes (streets), production brigades (neighborhood committees) to assume responsibility for organizing and conducting population census.

Concerning the objects of population census-taking. The "Measures" provide: "The objects of population census-taking are persons with the nationality of the People's Republic of China and residing within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China." The current census, like the first and the second censuses, will exclude foreigners residing in our country. As for persons of our country who work and study abroad, while they are not currently within the boundaries of our country, their permanent residences are at home and they still are objects of our population census-taking.

Concerning the standard time of census-taking. Both our census-taking in 1953 and that in 1964 took zero hour on 1 July as the standard time of national census registration. Measures for the current census-taking provide: "Zero hour on 1 July, 1982 (i.e. 24 hours on 30 June) is to be taken as the standard time of census-taking and registration. This timing is decided mainly in consideration of the fact that there is less floating of the population at this particular hour, which makes it convenient to survey the population thoroughly. At the same time, it will facilitate historical comparison of demographic data.

Concerning who are the objects of census-taking and where to take census, that is, the so-called "space standard." The "Measures" provide: "Population census-taking is based on the principle of registering permanent residents." On the basis of this principle, the "Measures" specifically stipulate that those persons who have been away from their place of household registration for 1 year and more should be taken as objects of census-taking at their place of actual residence. The results of such a census-taking can reflect the actual state of the local population, making it convenient for people's governments to take census data as the basis for formulating construction plans and arranging people's livelihood. Under the principle of registering permanent residents, the "Measures" make specific provisions for five different situations, so as to facilitate checking of the population at the time of census-taking with the population at the time of household registration and to increase the accuracy of population census-taking.

Concerning census items. The "Measures" provide 19 census items. Thirteen items are to be filled in according to persons: 1) Name, 2) Relation with the household head, 3) Sexual distinction, 4) Age, 5) Nationality, 6) State of household registration for those who permanently reside in the household (whether they have completed household registration locally), 7) Cultural standard, 8) Profession, 9) Occupation, 10) State of unemployed persons (study in school, do household chores, retired, etc.), 11) Marital status, 12) Number of childbirths in the case of women, and number of children living, 13) State of birth in 1981 in the case of birth-age women. Six items are to be filled in according to households: 1) Type of household (family household or collective household), 2) Household address, 3) Number of Persons in the household, 4) Number of births in household during 1981, 5) Number of deaths in the household during 1981, 6) Number of persons who have registered locally but have been away for 1 year and more.

Concerning the division of census-taking areas and the consolidation of household management. The "Measures" provide: "The areas under the jurisdiction of production brigades are to be taken as census-taking areas. In municipalities and towns, the areas under the jurisdiction of neighborhood committees are to be taken as census-taking areas." Furthermore, the "Measures" provide: Before start of census registration, household management should be seriously consolidated and the lines of demarcation clearly determined for each census-taking area.

Concerning the selection, transfer and training of census-taking workers and the method of census registration.

The "Measures" provide: "Persons at the grassroots level who are up to a fairly high cultural level are trusted by the masses, conscientious, responsible and qualified to do the job are to be selected as census-taking workers and supervisors and to be issued certificates after receiving short-course training and passing tests." Census registration is still to be conducted in two ways, by setting up census-taking stations and by sending census-taking workers to households for registration. The "Measures" provide that on the principle of suiting the convenience of the masses, census-taking stations may be set up at separate sectors in the census-taking areas, and

grassroots cadres may organize household heads or household persons, who are familiar with conditions, to report to the census-taking stations; or else, census-taking workers may visit households for filling in forms. In the case of the old, weak, sick and disabled who are unable to move about and come to the station, and in areas with a sparse population, census-taking workers should visit them for registration. Whatever the method adopted, census-taking workers should approach each household and each person, make thorough enquiries according to the census forms and fill in each item; the respondents must report truthfully so that there will be no repetitions and omissions and that the data are made accurate and free of errors. PLA soldiers in active service, no matter where they are stationed, are to be registered by the military unit leading bodies according to unified plans.

Concerning rechecking of population census-taking and selective checking of the quality of census-taking. The current census demands attainment of a high degree of accuracy. The "Measures" provide: "After completion of census-taking in one or several census-taking areas, the census-taking supervisor should proceed with all-round rechecking along the stipulated lines and, upon discovery of errors, make corrections after verification." This method of all-round rechecking will play an important part in minimizing errors and raising the census-taking quality. This has been repeatedly borne out by the first census and the second census and by the census-taking experiments recently conducted. In order to examine the quality of census-taking, the "Measures" provide: "All population census offices, after completion of filling in of forms and after rechecking, are to re-investigate sampled entries along the stipulated lines, evaluate the quality of census-taking, and collect data for submission to the higher level." Further, it is stipulated: "Selective-checking personnel may not take part in selective quality checking at grassroots units where they originally took part in census-taking."

Concerning collection and publication of census data. In the current census, collection of census data is to be computerized. Given the immense amount of data collected and the numerous census forms filled in, it will take a longer time to collect all the data. In view of this, the "Measures" provide: the whole process of processing census data is to be divided into three steps: The first step consists in manual collection of the main numbers of total households, total population, number of men and women, and number of people of various nationalities, so that these numbers can be made public 3 months after the standard census-taking time. The second step consists in sampling data at a given ratio and computerizing collection of data as reference materials for leading organizations to formulate policies. The third step consists in computerizing collection of all the census data, submitting the data to the State Council, and making them public after examination and verification.

(3) What are the characteristics of the "Measures for the Third National Population Census?"

One striking characteristic of the current census measure is that the requirements of socialist modernization of our country are integrated with current possibilities. In order to build ours gradually into a modern, highly democratic and civilized, socialist, powerful country, it is imperative

to formulate policies and programs that are suited to the actual conditions of our country. This calls for rich survey data on our population, society and economy. Population census is an important approach to all-round survey of the basic conditions of our country. From the perspective of the current four modernizations, collection of a few items on sexual distinction, age, nationalities and cultural standard, etc. as was done on the first census (1953) and the second census (1964) is far from enough to meet the requirements, and it is necessary to add some important census items this time. From the angle of current objective conditions, it appears that it is possible for us to achieve this. For all its twists and turns, socialist construction of our country has scored important achievements. Economics scale and technical conditions today (including modern computing technique) have greatly improved compared with the past. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in particular, the political situation of stability and unity is becoming increasingly stable, democracy and the legal system are increasingly promoted and strengthened, and economic construction has embarked on the track of healthy development. All this provides fundamental favorable conditions for the third national population census. The 19 times stipulated in the current census measures are 10 more than the second census, which had 9 items. The added items are chiefly: 1) Items having economic characteristics which include profession and occupation of the employed person and the state of the unemployed person. This is the first all-round survey of professions and occupations since the founding of the republic. The second census in 1964 included the item of occupation but did not set the classification standard, nor did it provide for collection of data. The current census sets the standards of profession classification (15 major, 62 medium and 222 minor ones) and the standards of occupation classification (8 major, 64 medium, 301 minor ones), and provides for computerizing detailed collection of data and enumerating on the collection table, the figures of population in each profession and occupation and also their sexual distinction, ages, cultural standards and nationality composition. 2) Items in the category of population birth which include the number of child births, number of living children, number of births and deaths in the year prior to the census (1981). These data are of significance to the study and formulation of our country's population policy and population programs. 3) The household state of resident population is added as an item that will help prevent repetition and omission of population registration, keep track of population residing and moving away, consolidate and strengthen household management and administrative management. In short, all of the 19 items are basic data required to strengthen administrative management of our state, particularly to guide economic and social development. To be sure, there are some necessary data that are not included in the current census and are left as special items to be surveyed in other ways (such as selective checking). This is because our country has a population of more than a billion, which means that each item added would entail an increase of 1 billion bits of data, a tremendous amount of work. Besides, ours is still a developing socialist country suffering from certain limitations of financial, material and technical conditions. The 19 items for the third census have been determined by combining requirements with possibilities and after being tested by repeated studies and experiments.

Another striking characteristic of the "Third Population Census Measures" is that, proceeding from the realities of our country, the census-taking experience is integrated with foreign countries' experience in population census. Ours is a socialist country and the governments of our country are people's governments. In the first census and second census, reliance was placed on the powerful leadership of governments at various levels and on the support and cooperation of the masses of the people; in the second census our country's system of household management was put to use (this system had not been instituted at the time of the first census) with the result that census was conducted with good results in both cases. In the current census measures, provisions such as the establishment of population census organizations, the exercise of unified leadership in the census-taking areas, the assistance to be rendered by grassroots cadres and activists (volunteers), the mobilization of the masses to report truthfully, and the reliance placed upon the masses for carrying out all-round checking have been made on the basis of past experience and success. In order to exploit the favorable conditions created by the household management system, the census measures provide, on the one hand, for all-round consolidation of household management prior to census-taking, so that household registration materials can be made more accurate and a good foundation laid for census-taking. On the other, the "Measures" stipulate that the state of household registration for each person should be enumerated in the census forms and different situations should be clearly registered so as to prevent omission of those who have not completed household registration or those who used to live locally but have registered elsewhere. In improving the close-knit organization of census-taking, particularly in applying modern computing technique, the third census measures fully exploit the experiences of foreign countries. Scientific provisions are made in the "Measures" for design of census registration, for coding of census data, for computer data recording, for logical correction, for data processing. These provisions are not mechanical application of foreign methods, but flexible application of foreign methods in light of the actual conditions of China. Some comrades say that our third census measures may be reduced to this formula: "Broad mass line plus close-knit organizational work plus modern computing technique." This statement sounds quite reasonable.

Census-taking involving 1 billion people is coming. It is a magnificent event in China's demographic history as well as in world demographic history. The current census-taking is gradually unfolding in accordance with the "Measures for the Third National Population Census." Let's make joint efforts and take solid action to win success in this cause.

9780
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MINORITIES LIVE BETTER ON HAINAN ISLAND

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[Text] Guangzhou, 4 Jul (XINHUA)--This year, 5,000 minority families in Hainan Autonomous Prefecture of Li and Miao nationalities on Hainan Island, Guangdong Province, will replace their thatched boat-shaped cottages with tile-roofed houses, according to the Prefectural Capital Construction Commission.

The replacement will be aided by the recent opening of an 80,000-ton-per-year cement plant in the prefecture, the commission said.

The prefecture, in the island's central south, administers eight counties. Each year one million yuan and materials including timber, cement and rolled steel are allocated by the state to the prefecture to help improve the people's housing. Construction and other departments help design the new homes and train bricklayers, carpenters and masons for the Lis and Miaos.

By the end of 1981, the commission said, 33,000 families from the two nationalities, representing 180,000 people, nearly one third of the prefecture's population, had moved into tile-roofed homes. Half the homes have been built since 1976 and each has two to three bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen and storeroom.

The housing expansion is attributed, the commission said, to increased grain production, a diversified economy and greater production of tropical crops. Stones are quarried and tiles and bricks produced locally, resulting in entire villages of tile-roofed houses.

In addition to new housing, wells, tap water, electricity and rice mills are also available in many villages.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ART, LIFE EXPERIENCE DESCRIBED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 May 82 p 2

[Article by He Yin [0149 7299]: "Correctly Recognize and Handle the Relationship Between Literature and Art and the Realities of Life"]

[Text] Forty years ago, in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" Comrade Mao Zedong described people's life experiences as the only source of inspiration for literary and artistic creation, and called on the literary and art workers to plunge into the thick of life and immerse themselves among the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in order to open a broad avenue of proletarian literature and art. The "gang of four" undermined the cause of literature and art by confusing this and other issues involving laws in the sphere of literature and art. A restudy of the "Talks" has given me the feeling that in studying the question of writers plunging into the thick of life, we should pay special attention to the relationship between the realities of life and their practice in creation, meaning that plunging into the thick of life should be an organic part of the practice in creative work.

I. Some people have taken a negative attitude on the question of plunging into the thick of life. In literary creation, we have seen what can be called obsession with self-expression. Some people held that plunging into the thick of life as a slogan "has nothing to do with the innate laws of literary creation" and that it is "too generalized, too superficial, vague and discursive," and so forth. Literary and art work itself is a reflection of social life, and this attitude is untenable. It is a time honored logic that the deeper a writer is among the realities of life, the better will be the work produced by him. Men of letters in the past visited famous mountains and rivers, and the poems and essays they wrote later won universal praise. In China as well as foreign countries, the past works depicting the people's conditions and the social contradictions and reflecting the people's desires still retain their popularity today. Turgenev said: "Before proceeding that the organization of the plot," there should be "direct information on certain facts of life." A. Ostrovsky said: "Playwrights do not invent subject matters" which are "supplied by life experiences, history...." There are numerous instances in theory as well as practice of literature and art in China and foreign countries indicating that life experiences are by no means superficial and vague.

Some people also held that opposing the slogan of plunging into the thick of life does not mean the opposition to the principle that literature and art should reflect life experiences, but rather the opposition to the methods and interpretation of this slogan at a certain period in the past. If such is the case, then even this slogan cannot be opposed. It is true that in the past, particularly the period of cultural autocracy under the "gang of four," writers were driven away from their work posts in the name of plunging into the thick of life, and many of them were attacked and persecuted under this pretext. This must never happen again. However, such acts were only a gross distortion of plunging into the thick of life. It is necessary that the dark spots in truth must be removed, but truth itself must not be negated.

As we all know, plunging into the thick of life as a clarion call was intended for the revolutionary literary and art workers. Its guiding principle was the theory of scientific reflection. The Marxist materialistic viewpoint on the relationship between social being and social consciousness has provided a firm foundation for our understanding and mastery of the laws of literary and art activities. There are many laws for literary and art creation, such as the law of image, the law of typification, the laws governing the methods of literary and art creation and artistic expression, and the laws for different systems and forms of literature and art. The writers and artists engaged in their own creative work are subject to the influences of various objective conditions, and cannot be separated from the effects of the demands of the age, their personal experiences, their preference for and familiarity with these laws, and the degree of their accomplishment. However, a correct recognition and handling of the relationship between life experiences and literature and art, and plunging into the thick of life voluntarily instead of under coercion, and earnestly instead of perfunctorily, are of decisive significance in bringing into play various subjective conditions and enabling us to master and apply the basic one of various literary and art laws for the creation and development of literature and art. In "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," Lenin said: "Materialists hold that the world is richer, more vivid and more variegated than it looks, because science can discover something new at every forward step it takes." This law is equally applicable to the reflection of social life by literature and art. Therefore, while reflecting the need for the development of revolutionary literature and art, the theory and practice of plunging into the thick of life is also a conscious mastery and application of the laws of literature and art. In order that literature and art can serve the people and the revolutionary cause in either the former revolutionary bases or the present socialist society, it is necessary to stress the need for plunging into the thick of people's life, beginning with the life experiences of the workers, peasants and soldiers who account for the vast majority of the population. This will be a great improvement upon the unconscious or half-conscious efforts of the writers in handling the realities of life in the past. In clarifying and systematically expounding the theoretical viewpoints and practical demands for literary and art workers to plunge into the thick of life, the "Talks" urged some intellectuals of petit bourgeois origin to shift their stand by coming over to the side of workers, peasants and soldiers or through other channels in view of the conditions then existing. In specifically dealing with the question of

plunging into the thick of life, the "Talks" were all based on the laws of mastering the laws of literary and art creation. For example, he disapproved "uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners," and called on the writers to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and "into the heat of the struggle, to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, and all the raw materials of literature and art." Since the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art, our revolutionary literary and art workers have achieved outstanding success as long as they conscientiously plunged into the thick of life and followed the objective laws of literary and artistic creation; conversely, they would bring damage to the cause of revolutionary literature and art and even get on to the wrong path. Numerous facts in the history of the past few decades have illustrated this point.

II. Some articles have raised such questions as whether the writers plunge into the thick of life for the sake of improving their creative work or for the sake of remolding their world outlook, and what has to be remolded if the latter is the case. Generally, there are two views on these questions. One of them is that by plunging into the thick of life, the writers will be able to gain a deeper insight, draw materials from what they have seen, and at the same time remold their world outlook in order to enhance their power of understanding from the Marxist point of view. They will thus be able to analyze and form their own judgement of the experiences of life. The other view is that in plunging into the thick of life, the first requirement is for the writers to remold their world outlook, because writers should become revolutionaries first. The people holding the latter view contend that since the remolding of world outlook is regarded as a "concurrent" task according to the former view, such a view plays down the significance of the remolding of world outlook. These people have even asked accusingly: If a person takes an individualist stand and his ideas and sentiments are utterly incompatible with those of the masses, can he possibly analyze and understand the society by using the Marxist world outlook and methodology? The latter view has also been refuted by some other people who held that since the present contingent of writers have been long tempered in the revolution and been educated by the party, the situation has changed a great deal from what it was during the Yanan period when Lu Xun said that a writer should be a revolutionary. Therefore, according to these people, we should not generally insist that a writer should be a revolutionary first. In my opinion, if we want to reconcile these conflicting views, we should investigate the relationship between plunging into the thick of life and the practice in creative work.

We cannot regard the remolding of world outlook as a purely political and ideological matter, because it actually permeates the entire course of creation in practice. Their presence among the realities of life and their contact with many people and incidents can produce appeals on them, inspire them, and provoke their ideas. Their works are based on materials accumulated from real life and on their experiences, feelings and imaginations. If we say that revolutionaries should remold their own subjective world while remolding the objective world, then writers who should correctly and profoundly

portray the constantly changing realities of life must also constantly remold their world outlook. In creative work, life experiences are the foundation, and the world outlook always plays the leading role. In the past, the writers could not always consciously realize this point, and there was nobody to make such a demand on them. According to the laws of revolutionary literary and art creation, there should be a very high degree of consciousness on the question of world outlook. Revolutionary writers, especially those who are party members, must observe, analyze and handle problems according to the communist ideology. In going into and being familiarized with the realities of life, the writers should on the one hand strive to guide themselves with the correct world outlook, and, on the other hand, willingly learn from the realities of life so as to correct the mistakes in their subjective world. Author Liu Qing [2692 7230] has spoken of this personal experience in learning that the most important requirement for a proletarian writer is to remember throughout his life the distinction between himself and the bourgeois writer. This is an in-depth and thoroughgoing interpretation of the remolding of world outlook.

Stressing the need for remolding the world outlook does not mean that such remolding is the sole task, or that a writer plunges into the thick of life only for the purpose of remolding his world outlook. If the purpose is to remold the world outlook and the purpose of remolding the world outlook is to become a revolutionary, then what is the purpose of becoming a revolutionary? We should say that in plunging into the thick of life, the writer's main purpose is to improve his creative work, and that while persistently remolding his world outlook, he should thoroughly understand and be familiar with the realities of life, so that both purposes will be closely coordinated. The question of becoming a revolutionary, raised by Lu Xun, was not only a special political and ideological requirement for his contemporary writers (including Lu Xun himself), but also involved the questions of literature and art as a means of portraying life, the responsibility of writers during that age, and the basic laws for revolutionary literature and art creation. In his opinion, revolutionary writers should "at least live the same life with revolutionaries and clearly feel the pulse of revolution." In other words, these writers should first have a firm revolutionary stand, and become active participants in the people's revolutionary cause and in the people's struggles so that they will share the destiny of revolution with the people. In Comrade Mao Zedong's words, "the thoughts and feelings of our writers and artists should be fused with those of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers." At the same time, there is also the question of understanding the entire revolutionary cause and the various aspects of people's life, and constantly developing and deepening this understanding. Anyone capable of accomplishing these two tasks will live up to what Lu Xun called a revolutionary.

The change in stand, thoughts and feelings is not antagonistic to the improvement in the method of thinking and the power of understanding. Nor are they unrelated. It is entirely wrong to think that the majority of today's writers have problems with their stand, thoughts and feelings. There is a huge difference between the present contingent of writers and that of the 1930's and 1940's, but the need for writers to become revolutionaries and to serve the people wholeheartedly is still as significant as ever. Therefore, the remolding of world outlook must not be overlooked. Of course, the substance of

remolding varies according to different circumstances. The undesirable effects of the wrong stand taken by a small number of people and of their unhealthy thoughts and feelings are there for all to see. We must therefore attach great importance to the transformation of the stand, thoughts and feelings. The use of materialist and dialectical methods and viewpoints to recognize the problems is an even more universal and prolonged task. If the writers will regard plunging into the thick of life as an organic part of creative work in practice, and then dig through the complex phenomena of life to discover and refine what is beautiful in life, then what they have explored, discovered, and refined will, to varying extents, remedy or correct the inadequacy or defects in the writers world outlook or help solve the problems of stand, thoughts and feelings.

III. There is still another question--the question of breadth and depth in plunging into the thick of life, as strongly reflected by the question of whether it is still necessary to stress the need to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Some articles have expressed the view that since historical conditions are now different, the need to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers should not be further stressed or advocated and that the scope of life should be expanded and deepened instead of being confined to workers, peasants and soldiers. Others held that even today, going deep among workers, peasants and soldiers should still be stressed. These views reveal two questions: first, whether going among workers, peasants and soldiers is still necessary, and second, what is the relationship between breadth and depth in plunging into the thick of life on the one hand and going among the workers, peasants and soldiers on the other.

Comrade Mao Zedong's call on writers and artists to go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers during the 1940's had a specific purpose as well as being a distinctive characteristic of the age and of universal significance. After pointing out that literature and art should mainly serve the workers, peasants, soldiers and laboring masses of the urban petit bourgeoisie as well as the petit bourgeois intellectuals, he stressed the need for our literature and art to serve these four kinds of people, saying, "To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petit bourgeoisie. Today writers who cling to an individualist, petit bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers." At that time, some people did not come into contact with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, did not understand or understand them, and paid attention only to the self-expression of the petit bourgeoisie. To produce literary and art work that could truly serve the people, therefore, they must go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Comrade Mao Zedong also strongly pointed out: "To come to the revolutionary bases means to enter an epoch unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history, an epoch in which the masses of the people wield state power." When they go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers, the writers are "integrating themselves with the new masses." In this sense, going among the workers, peasants and soldiers is not only some concrete measure for some specific period, but also a universally applicable measure at all times. The orientation of literature and art to serving the people and socialism as advocated by the party Central Committee indicates the application and development in a new

period of the slogan initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong--the slogan that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers--with epochal characteristics. Now that we have made great progress in the new age, the scope for the activities of literature and art in expressing views and in serving the people has been expanded. However, the workers, peasants and soldiers engaged in creative labor for the socialist modernization still accounts for the vast majority of people and form the main body carrying on activities of the age. Under the present conditions, it is certainly improper to insist on going among the workers, peasants and soldiers alone or to equate plunging into the thick of life with going among workers, peasants and soldiers. However, it would also be unthinkable if socialist literature and art, which should serve the broadest masses of people and socialist modernization, fail to depict the labor and struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Therefore, the generalization that going among the workers, peasants and soldiers is no longer necessary is one-sided.

It is entirely correct that writers should have a broader vision and delve deeper into the realities of life. Encouraging writers to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers means the expansion of the scope of life activities with the main idea that writers should plunge into the torrents of the age or into the main current. Of course, there is also the question that literary and art creation should depict the life of other people and at the same time present more about the life of workers, peasants and soldiers. The experiences of workers, peasants and soldiers in the struggles can also provide rich materials for the portrayal of their life at greater length, and it is untrue that there is not much to write about them. Sometimes, some work tends to be formalistic or stereotyped. This should not be attributed to the realities of life, but rather to the fact that the writers have not been down to the basic levels often enough. "Director Qiao Assumes Office," "Xu Mao and His Daughters," "Anecdotes on the Western Front" and other works vividly depicting the characteristic of the age and presenting an in-depth view of modern life, were produced after the downfall of the "gang of four." Besides showing the writers' keen sense of responsibility to the present age, these works represent the crystallization of their efforts after prolonged associations with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

If we say that plunging into the thick of life is an organic part of practice in creative work, then going among workers, peasants and soldiers should form an inseparable part of the creative work in revolutionary literature and art. In correcting the mistakes of going to one extreme, we must be careful in avoiding the mistakes of going to the other extreme.

9411
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITERS URGED TO ACT AS SPOKESMEN OF PEOPLE

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 82 p 4

[Article by Cai Yungui [5591 6663 2710]: "Writers Must Act as the Faithful Spokesmen of the People"]

[Text] "All revolutionary writers and artists must maintain links with the masses, portray the masses, and regard themselves as the faithful spokesmen of the masses. Only then can their work have any real significance.... If they regard themselves as the masters of the masses and see themselves as the aristocracy occupying a rank above the 'lower levels,' then no matter how great their ability they are not what the people need and their work has no future." These words of Comrade Mao Zedong spoken 40 years ago during the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" were directed toward the mistaken tendencies of certain writers and artists who were divorced from the masses and looked down upon the art and literature of the masses at the Yenan revolutionary base during those years. They thought themselves brilliant and devoted themselves to exclusive advancement. The "Talks" played a major role in clarifying the ideas on guiding the artistic or literary creativity of that period. Forty years later, they are still of great significance for writers and artists.

Whether or not writers are the faithful spokesmen of the people is the major criterion for judging the historical position of revolutionary writers and revolutionary literature. It is also the major criterion for judging the historical position of writers and works of earlier periods. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The proletariat must first of all examine the literary and artistic works of past periods to determine their attitude toward the people." ("Talks") The importance of this "attitude" is to see whether or not they voice the aspirations of the people. Historically, all writers with progressive tendencies directly or indirectly expressed the ideas, feelings, aspirations and interests of the masses through their works. Whether these works expose society's dark side, show sympathy for the suffering of the people, express the wisdom and fighting spirit of the masses or the people's yearning for a good life and their fierce search for true love, they all still maintain links with the masses in varying degrees. They reveal the aspirations of the masses. Marx said: "Men of insight are often linked to the organism of the people by invisible ties." ("The Complete Works of Marx and Engels," vol 33, p 178) Great writers are linked to the people by the

"invisible ties" of their ideas and feelings expressed in their works. All literary works that have transmitted the aspirations of the people and possessed definite artistic quality have always been praised and loved by the people through the ages. Conversely, all works that have supported reactionaries have ultimately been destroyed in the course of history even if they have had artistic merit. This is a law proven by the history of the development of literature. Today, our revolutionary writers must earnestly sum up the lessons and experiences of history and always keep in mind the interests of the people. They must see that their works speak for the masses and voice their ideas, feelings and will. Through their works it can be determined whether or not they have grasped the idea of serving the people.

In our socialist society, the party and the people's government have publicly called on writers to act as the faithful spokesmen of the people. This is fundamentally different from the writers in traditional times who risked imprisonment or execution in order to speak for the people. Thus, the mutual relationship of contemporary writers to the people and state naturally differs fundamentally in comparison with traditional writers. The social system and state apparatus in earlier periods were basically opposed to the masses. As long as the writers dared to criticize the old institutions and dared to expose the crimes of those in power who supported these old institutions and oppressed the common people, they represented the interests of the people and acted as spokesmen of the people. However, in our socialist country with a people's democratic dictatorship, revolutionary writers cannot adopt that attitude toward social institutions and toward the state. They must correctly handle the relationship between themselves, society and the state and the relationship between themselves and the masses. This is because the socialist system reflects the basic interests of the people while the state safeguards their interests. Even though all sorts of contradictions may exist between the state and the people, these are internal contradictions with the premise of the unity of basic interests. Consequently, writers must act as the spokesmen of the people and cannot adopt the attitude of being antagonistic to society and the state. As for the evils left behind by traditional society, the small group of degenerate elements and various criminal elements, they are all basically antagonistic toward the interests of the people. Writers must speak for the people by striking out and exposing them. The purpose of this is to perfect and consolidate the socialist system, not to disrupt this system. Certain writers have not clearly differentiated between the character of the new and old social institutions. They believe that as long as they expose the dark side of things they are acting as the faithful spokesmen of the people. They do not distinguish between right and wrong and they criticize the evil legacy of old institutions as the product of the socialist system. They also overstate and exaggerate so that their works will be read. They think that neither the socialist system nor the CCP are any good. Thus, they are not only unable to fill the role of spokesmen of the people, but they also basically go against the interests of the masses. This kind of experience and lesson have existed since the founding of the nation.

Our nation has opened up a broad path in maintaining links between writers and the people. This is only one aspect of the problem. Another aspect is how can writers truly become the faithful spokesmen of the masses. One cannot say that this problem has been completely resolved. If we do not have a thorough understanding of the relationship of writers to the state and to the people, and particularly when we are undergoing some upheaval or when certain changes have taken place, then writers cannot truly comprehend the ideas and feelings of the broad masses. At such a time it is very difficult for them to act as the spokesmen of the people. Experiences like this have existed throughout the course of history. During the unrest of the "Great Cultural Revolution" some of the political power of the party and state was usurped by the "gang of four." In order to carry out their political schemes they pursued a counterrevolutionary line which disregarded the basic interests of the people. The people suffered disastrous damage in their spiritual and material lives. They also used the formula of "carrying out a mass movement" to engage in counterrevolutionary activities. During this kind of upheaval it is difficult for writers to be the faithful spokesmen of the masses. At such a time, certain clearheaded writers put down their pens even though they had not yet been deprived of their right to write. However, there were also writers who wrote confused counterrevolutionary works that played up to the "gang of four" out of personal selfish motives and greed. Among this group there may have been those who at that time considered themselves to be the spokesmen of the people yet acted otherwise. Wasn't this a very bitter lesson? Second, after eliminating the "gang of four" and since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party summed up the difficult experiences of the past. It established and reaffirmed the correct political and ideological line. The party untied the ropes of the "gang of four" that in the past confined the spirit and thinking of writers. Writers have written numerous penetrating works that have exposed the crimes of the "gang of four" and have truly acted as the faithful spokesmen of the masses. However, some works have lumped together the mistakes committed by the party and the party's original form. This is mistaken. Many writers have also written many fine and praiseworthy works on eradicating unrest, returning to rectitude, radical reform, and eliminating the influence and pernicious effects of the "gang of four." They have also written about correcting the errors that occurred in the past during political movements. However, it cannot be ignored that in our literary world, particularly in certain large periodicals, some articles have appeared that have given vent to personal grievances and emotions. They are incompatible with the socialist system. Of course, this kind of work is rare and its appearance is not surprising. Nevertheless, certain editors and critics lavish praise on such works. They believe that works such as these are the voice of the masses. This is incredible.

In our country which has a people's democratic dictatorship, the state institutions and laws support the interests of the people. However, in our state agencies a bureaucratic workstyle persists. Certain links in state institutions are still weak. Once these directly or indirectly influence the people's way of life, the people will then voice their demands for improvements and correction. It is extremely important that writers correctly reflect the voice of the people in their works. This requires that they master the principle of dealing with contradictions among the people. They cannot start

from ultra-individualism and proceed to portray the voice of the people by using the sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie or anarchism, nor can they pretend to be the voice of the people while giving vent to personal grievances and emotions. This runs totally counter to the wishes of the people and will ultimately be cast aside by the people.

In the "Talks" Comrade Mao Zedong advised writers and artists not to create works that represent the self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie. This advice still holds true today. Only by renouncing this form of self-expression can they become the faithful spokesmen of the masses. There is no doubt about this. In the past several years there have been those who publicly declared that describing the world means to describe the "self." They also said that after Columbus discovered America in the New World, there were no more new worlds to discover so that now we must discover the new world of the "self." Actually there is no need to discover this: it is not very hard to find examples of it. We have the novel "Spring Fairy Tales" recently published in HUACHENG. This is by no means a new world but rather a foul rubbish heap. Indeed, there are examples of rubbish heaps that are treated as the people of this new world.

We do not categorically oppose emphasis on the "self" in works. The key to the problem is whether or not this "self" can observe history, study and analyze real life using concepts of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as well as share in the processes of life and death with the masses. Naturally no one opposes works that express the writer's own personality and style or writers who act as the spokesmen of the people using their own particular artistic technique.

Writers must take the pulse of the times and keep in step with the masses. Only in this way can they fulfill their wish to act as the faithful spokesmen of the people. Subjective wishes are also very valuable, but it is still necessary to make a major effort to earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and society. It is also necessary to penetrate the masses and reality. In this way we can be assured that they can truly act as the faithful spokesmen of the people.

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CSO: 4005/904

PAPER SCORES INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT ABROAD

OW140552 Taipei CHINA POST in Chinese 11 Jul 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Taiwan, the ROC"]

[Text] The executive yuan recently stressed the fact that the government regards as loyal citizens all overseas Chinese, except those that support the Chinese communists or advocate the independence of Taiwan. This was a timely clarification of the way the ROC Government looks upon Chinese residing in foreign countries.

The problem arises from the fact that there are a handful of overseas Chinese who have been making a foolish attempt to make the island of Taiwan an independent nation--with themselves as its leaders. These are a group of political fanatics with a lust for power. Their objective is to overthrow the government of the Republic of China and they have resorted to various means including subversion, sabotage and rioting.

The foolishness and futility of the attempt to make Taiwan an independent nation are obvious to those with some sense.

For one thing, to declare Taiwan an independent nation would give the Chinese communists an excellent excuse to carry out their dream of seizing the island. They would launch the invasion in the name of "suppressing a revolt."

For another thing, all those living in Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu, except perhaps a few ignorant persons, are loyal to and firm supporters of the ROC Government, whose leadership and earnest efforts to develop the island bastion have made it what it is today.

The ungrateful people advocating the independence of Taiwan are now mostly used by the communists as tools for undermining free China. They will inevitably find that they have made fools of themselves, as China will soon be reunified under the three principles of the people originating with Dr Sun Yat-sen.

CSO: 4005/1103

PRC DEFECTOR SENTENCED FOR SUBVERSION

OW131439 Hong Kong AFP in English 1258 GMT 13 Jul 82

[Text] Taipei, 13 Jul (AFP)--A fisherman from China who defected to Taiwan last year has been sentenced to 4 years on charges of engaging in infiltration and subversion activities, the English language DAILY CHINA NEWS reported here today.

The Taiwan garrison command identified the man as Cheng Chen-tung of Guangdong Province and in his early 20's, the afternoon paper said. The report said that Cheng defected to Taiwan on a fishing boat last year. The government accepted him and helped him to resettle in Taiwan. Shortly after, he began his subversive activities, frequently making statements against the Nationalist Chinese Government and praising the Chinese communist regime, the Chinese-language UNITED DAILY also reported.

It said that the garrison command, Taiwan's highest security agency, decided that Cheng was "questionable" soon after he had infiltrated into Taiwan. He was put under arrest after sufficient evidence had been assembled against him.

The CHINA NEWS said Cheng had tried to leave Taiwan before his arrest. He confessed to the charges when confronted with the evidence, the paper added.

The UNITED DAILY said Cheng had told a military court that he was not a fisherman and that he defected to Taiwan on the instructions of Chinese communist cadres. He said he regretted that the communist Chinese had taken advantage of his youth to make use of him. Evidently Cheng had received no special training before he was sent to Taiwan, the paper said.

CSO: 4000/165

END